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Maragon in Greece

THE Nation

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Will Europe Go Right?

I. Decline of the Third Force

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

Cross-Purposes on Sterling - - - - - - - *Keith Hutchison*

The Oil Men's War - - - - - - - - - - - *Stuart Long*

Schlesinger's "Vital Center" - - - - - - - *Robert Bendiner*

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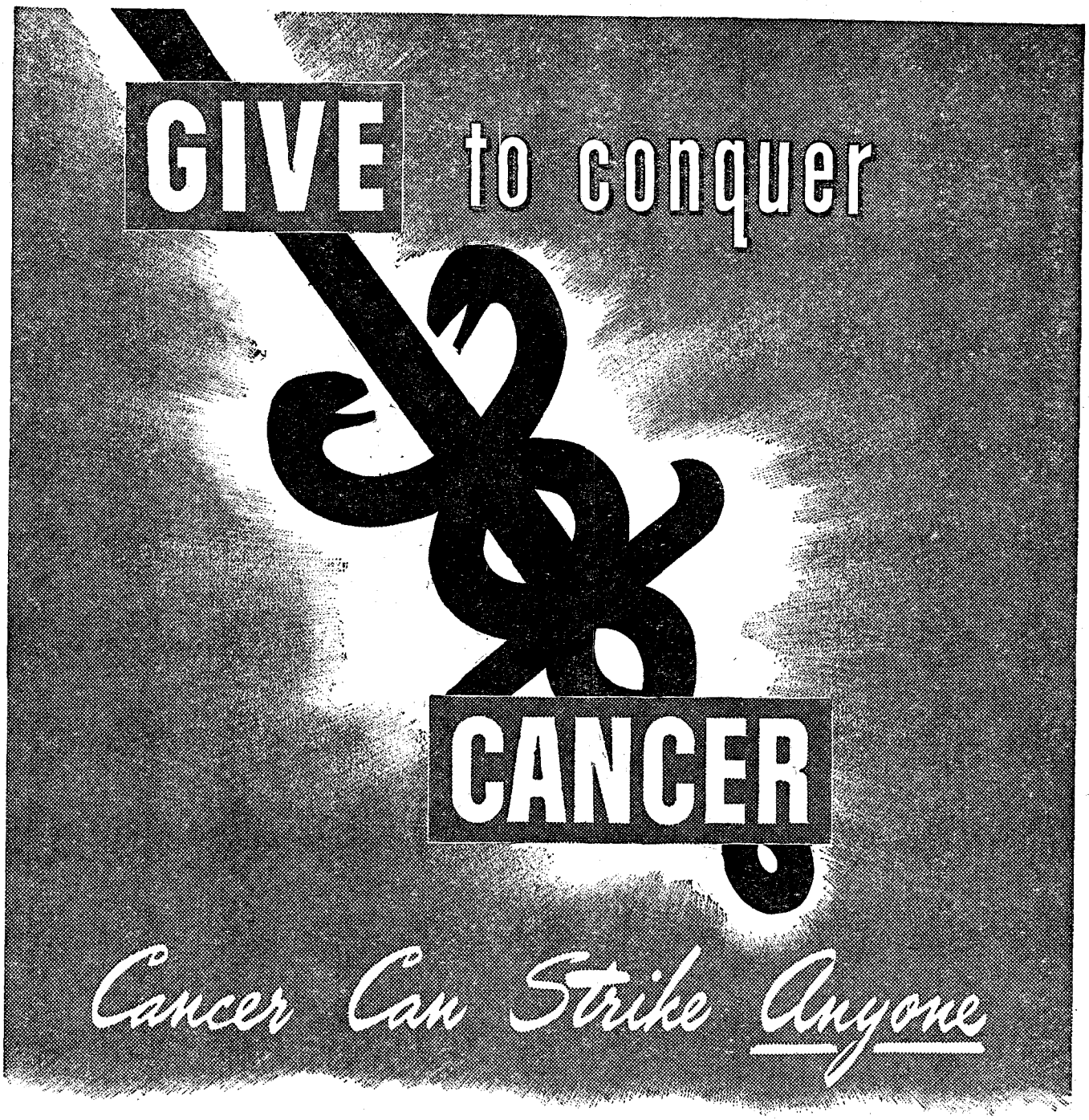

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

IN THE INGENIOUS FORMULA WORKED OUT by the President's board of inquiry to prevent a steel strike lies the hope for industrial peace in the months ahead. At first glance Philip Murray's United Steelworkers would seem to be getting the short end of the stick. They asked for a "package" of concessions totaling 30 cents an hour: 12.5 cents in additional wages, 11.23 cents for retirement pensions, and 6.27 cents for health and life insurance. The companies stood pat on the present wage scale and no benefits, arguing traditionally enough that any increased costs would either discourage investment or be canceled out in higher prices. The board would offer no increase in wages at this time and a total of 10 cents in security benefits. But on both counts it would present labor with advantages that should outweigh the failure to achieve an immediate wage boost. While the board rejected the union's contention that higher wages were needed now to head off deflation by increasing purchasing power, it clearly suggested that, given continued favorable conditions, the companies should cut prices; that if they did not do so, the union would be warranted in renewing its wage demand. This is in line with the best of current labor thinking, which has been moving toward the position that a lowering of prices, in which the benefits are evenly spread throughout the population, is better than a dangerous spiraling of prices and wages. It is hardly a secret that Murray and his advisers have been putting their real hopes in security benefits, with wage demands thrown in for bargaining purposes rather than in expectation of success. On this score labor must find the formula a major advance in that it recognizes the principle that management has an obligation "to take care of . . . depreciation in the human 'machine' in much the same way as provision is made for depreciation and insurance of plant and machinery."

*

JOHN FOSTER DULLES MUST BE ALMOST AS overcome as we are by the exalted rapture with which his candidacy for the Senate is being hailed. Commenting on his agreement to make the race against Herbert H. Lehman in November, the New York *Herald Tribune* found his decision "one of those rare events which fill politics with meaning and restore to public life the dignity and excitement it has had in the best days of our history." Governor Dewey was even more ecstatic, suggesting that New Yorkers would "thrill to the news" of their "unique opportunity to elect to the Senate one of the greatest statesmen of the world." Mr. Dulles is a good cut above the level of Republican statesmanship, but these hosannahs seem a bit thick in the light of his interim service in the Senate so far. His chief contributions have been to reject the whole concept of federal aid to the schools "except for the impoverished areas" and to oppose the distribution of publicly owned hydroelectric power. His support of the United Nations' genocide convention before the American Bar Association last week was forthright as well as sound, but his remarks in announcing his candidacy leave us unconvinced that we have here the profound statesman of Governor Dewey's imagination. He would "not undo most of what has been done" in the way of social legislation, but "the trend to statism needs to be stopped now and here." This is the familiar line of "enlightened" tories everywhere: what you have done so far is fine—though we fought it tooth and nail—but let's have no more of it. Granted that limits must be set to the concentration of government power, they can logically be drawn only on the basis of *kinds* of power, not increments of the same kind. A man who believes in compulsory social security cannot in principle denounce compulsory health insurance. If federal funds may be spent on subsidies to business men and farmers, then why not on schools and housing? Since Mr. Dulles proposes to make the "welfare state" a campaign issue, we hope Mr. Lehman will insist on facts, not flights of fancy.

*

SEVERAL IMPORTANT MOVES HAVE BEEN made during the past week in the "little cold war" between Tito and the Cominform. The United States has intervened on the side of Tito to the extent of a $20,000,000 credit, Poland has denounced its twenty-year mutual-assistance treaty with Yugoslavia, and eight leading Hungarian officials and army men are about to be tried on charges of plotting with "American and Yugoslav spying organizations" to assassinate Communist Vice-Premier Rakosi and several other ministers and overthrow the Hungarian government. Also within recent days the Cominform has proclaimed the existence of a new Yugoslav Communist Party, loyal to Moscow, oper-

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ating both inside Yugoslavia and among émigrés in neighboring countries. At a moment like this, when tension on both sides is rising, the significance of the American loan is far greater than its size would indicate. In effect, it has announced to would-be rebels in the Soviet sphere that Tito's resistance is not to be broken by economic sanctions dictated in Moscow. No matter how bitterly the deal may be attacked in Cominform capitals, it is certain to encourage discontent with Moscow domination and prove—assuming the State Department continues its present hands-off attitude toward Belgrade—that American financial help is not necessarily synonymous with American political control. This is neither lend-lease nor Marshall aid. It is a dollar credit for the purchase of American mining machinery and other equipment, bearing 3½ per cent interest with provisions for repayment in regular instalments. It gives Tito a chance to restore his battered, worn-out mining industry. It gives this country an opportunity to get the valuable non-ferrous metals in which Yugoslavia is rich. If the deal is kept on this basis, the Kremlin's accusations will sound increasingly unconvincing to its restless junior partner.

*

"THAT'S ENOUGH RIGHT THERE," SAID A deputy sheriff in the courtroom at Tavares, Florida, when Norma Padgett, a seventeen-year-old blonde housewife, identified the three Negro defendants as the men who (she said) had raped her on the night of July 16. A white woman had spoken. Her husband more or less corroborated her story. No medical testimony was allowed by Judge Truman G. Futch. All of Lake County was "aroused"—the Orlando newspapers had seen to that—and the community was still swept by the mob fever that had resulted, last July, in a three-day reign of terror for all Negroes within thirty miles. The real cause of the hysteria—and the probable basis of the rape accusation itself—was of course never mentioned: the fact that a few Negroes in Lake County were getting "uppity," saving a little money, buying land and new cars, and showing a disinclination to continue as forced laborers at starvation wages. The whole thing was over and done with in a day and a half. The judge threw out all defense motions as irrelevant and immaterial, including efforts to prove that the defendants had been tortured, that the all-white jury was stacked, and that the psychological climate of the county precluded any possibility of a fair trial. The verdicts were as expected, with one exception—Charles Greenlee, aged sixteen, who had convincingly demonstrated he could not have been implicated in the crime, if in fact there was one, won a recommendation of "mercy." At the end of the week sentence was passed: death for two, life inprisonment for Greenlee. Lake County settled back—and two Negro defense attorneys and two Northern Negro journalists,

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including Ted Poston of the New York *Post*, fled from Tavares in fear of their lives, pursued at ninety miles an hour down the highways by angry whites. For they were outsiders who could not properly appreciate Southern customs.

*

THAT FLORIDA'S SHAME IS FULLY SHARED BY the proud state of New York becomes ever clearer as eyewitness accounts pour in describing the Witches' Sabbath at Peekskill. Sheriff Fahelli's report to Governor Dewey, eulogizing the police and bravely blaming teenage children for the terror, is flatly disproved not only by these accounts but by its own internal contradictions. The Governor's continued silence is in shocking contrast to the speed with which he denounced violence in the Bell Aircraft strike at Buffalo: "a serious outbreak of lawlessness . . . an organized group became a mob, obstructed the free use of the highway and of passage for those trying to use it lawfully." He can still redeem himself by a drastic investigation of state and local police at Peekskill, who not only permitted more flagrant lawlessness than Buffalo's but almost certainly condoned it. Strong disciplinary action now would discourage such dereliction in the future, though at best it would only keep the lid on a blind hatred and a total ignorance of the very essence of democracy. Perhaps there is not much that Governor Dewey can do about that, but given a really deep conviction and the imagination to rise above administrative routine, he could do something. He could come to Peekskill himself, mount the platform from which Paul Robeson sang, and tell the people of that hysterical community, calmly and reasonably, the simple truths about Americanism, which their veterans presumably fought for though they do not appear to know it. What an act of statesmanship that would be—and how improbable!

*

A DREAM-LIKE ATMOSPHERE SEEMED TO envelop the official rebirth of parliamentary government in Germany. Reports from Bonn reflect an air of unreality in the formal establishment of the Federal Republic, a tentative quality symbolically reflected in the wrangling of the members as to whether or not "Deutschland Uber Alles" should be performed in the Bundestag. It could hardly have been otherwise. Here was the first people's government Germans have known in sixteen years—subordinate to the provisions of the Occupation Statute, ready to administer only in a limited fashion the affairs of a country torn in half, industrially crippled, and, above all, neither spiritually nor politically regenerate, a nation that had raped a continent with a savagery unmatched since the days of Genghis Khan still unpersuaded of its guilt. When Paul Loebe, who had presided over the Reichstag in the pre-Hitler days, remarked with bottomless understatement that the act which delivered that body to Hitler was illegal, a deputy raised a pertinent question: "How many delegates here voted for it?" There was no answer. In spite of the conservative majority of the new parliament, the pull of the East was obvious, and all speakers referred to the need for ultimate unity with the Soviet zone. As Carolus, our correspondent in Germany has pointed out in these pages, the Russians hold trump cards in the struggle for Germany. It is they who can promise unity and it is they who can take off the necks of the West Germans the fearful burden of nine million refugees from the eastern part of the country. As a counter-attraction, British, French, and Americans can offer only an end of the dismantling program and ultimate inclusion in the structure of Western Europe. But even these are only hopes for the future as long as there remains the all too real fear of a resurgent German nationalism. No wonder that Bonn is an uncertain and hesitant addition to the capitals of the world.

*

READERS OF *THE NATION* WILL BE HAPPY to learn that Paul Blanshard's book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is still selling well. In fact, since Jerry Tallmer's article (The Silent Treatment, *Nation*, July 16) on the reluctance of the press to review or accept advertising for it, over 20,000 volumes have been sold, bringing the total at this date to 34,000—more than double the publisher's expectations for first-year sales. The book has been listed six times on the non-fiction best-seller list of the New York *Times Book Review* (June 26, August 14, 21, and 28, September 4 and 11) and for three weeks in August headed the Minneapolis library's list of most popular non-fiction books. Nevertheless, the determination to smother Blanshard persists. The Beacon Press, his publisher, reports that the book has been withdrawn from regular stock at R. H. Macy's in New York. Macy's public-relations department concedes this to be true, but says that anyone who wishes to may "special-order" a copy by mail, a procedure based upon "merchandising considerations." What, we wonder, are the merchandising considerations that induce a bookstore to take a best-seller off the counter?

*

WISHFUL THINKING MUST HAVE INSPIRED some of the advance stories in the American press about the annual meeting of Britain's Trade Union Congress. "Troubles which Britain's Labor government is having with the laboring men who voted it into power," wrote John D. Leonard in the *Wall Street Journal* of September 3, "could easily explode next week—at a most embarrassing moment." The suggestion was that rank-and-file unionists would kick over the traces and repudiate the wage-standstill agreement which their leaders voluntarily adopted at the request of the government.

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Had this happened, the British Labor movement would have split and the government collapsed—to the great satisfaction of the *Wall Street Journal*. British workingmen, however, are not fools. They are well aware of the benefits they have derived from a government of their own, and even if they do not understand all the intricacies of the current financial crisis, most of them realize that any attempt to force a general rise in pay at this time would lead to disastrous inflation. When the report of the T. U. C. General Council favoring continuance of the wage freeze came before the conference, it was approved by a six-to-one majority. Among the minority was the relatively small Communist contingent, which, of course, would shed no tears if the Labor government came a cropper. There were also delegates who sincerely believed that appreciable wage increases could be secured by trimming profits, although the statistics fail to support them. Most of those speaking and voting, however, were prepared to take a broader view, confident that their interests were best served by continuance of the Labor government. As Sir William Lawther, president of the T. U. C. put it: "We can be sure that if the coming general elections should result in the defeat of Labor, we shall see a reversal of the Labor policy of progressive socialization, full employment, and social welfare."

Which Farm Plan?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S Labor Day speech at Des Moines reminded us that the problem of price-support legislation for farm products is as important as it is difficult to understand. It is important politically because Democratic control of the national government now depends, even more than under the Roosevelt regime, on the ability to get Northern farmers as well as workers to vote Democratic. It is important economically because without farm aid post-war deflation of agriculture might lead us into another depression, while price supports of the wrong kind deprive city consumers of the food they need and in the end, if they become impossible to maintain, may ruin the farmers themselves.

Any one of three different programs may be put into effect. We exclude here the Brannan plan, which Congress has already rejected, although the Administration hopes to win support for something like it in the future.

The House of Representatives has passed a measure continuing the New Deal price-support program as amended for war purposes. This obliges the government to support farm prices at a minimum of 90 per cent of "parity." In order to do this the government has to acquire and hold off the market everything grown by the farmer which cannot be sold at the guaranteed price. In the case of perishable crops, like potatoes, the surplus has to be destroyed; in the case of crops which can be stored, the unmarketable surpluses build up year after year and overhang the market while the government continues to hold the bag. Taxpayers pay the farmers for products which are not consumed; consumers pay the high prices or go without. No more deliberate economic waste can be imagined, and the system, if continued, must lead to disaster. It is mitigated only by the power of the Department of Agriculture to impose "marketing"—that is, production—limitations as a condition of the aid, in the case of certain crops.

If the Senate and the House do not agree on this or some other proposal, the law fathered by Senator Aiken of Vermont, passed last year, will automatically go into effect in 1950. This is a great improvement on the system under which we are now operating, and which the House proposes to continue. The Aiken law instructs the Department of Agriculture to lower the support prices, to a minimum of 60 per cent of parity, of any crop in which large surpluses are likely to be built up. It also changes the base of parity prices from the antique pre-1914 level to that of a more recent date. Thus it allows changes in consumer demand to take effect in influencing farmers in their decisions concerning what to grow. We could do worse than allow this law to become operative.

But the big-farm pressure groups do not want it to become operative. Economic statesmanship is not their forte; they are after the gravy. They sponsored the House bill. The Administration, in search of a sensible program for which it might win farm support, put forth the Brannan plan. When Congress threw this out, former Secretary of Agriculture Anderson came to Washington with a complicated compromise, still being discussed in Senate committee. He had cooperated with Senator Aiken last year. What will issue from the Senate is likely to be a somewhat watered-down version of the Aiken law—better than the House bill but still not satisfactory as a permanent program. What will issue from Senate-House conferences, if anything, is almost certain to project the question into the 1950 Congressional campaign.

We shall have to educate ourselves in this matter if we are to understand either our politics or our economy. In detail it is full of complexities, but the general principles are not too hard to understand. On the one side the conservatives and the shallow-minded commentators ridicule any effort to benefit farmers and workers at the same time; do not the farmers want high food prices and the workers low food prices? People who are horrified at the idea that there might be a class struggle between capital and labor do their best to promote one between farmer and industrial employee.

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The reply is, of course, that both farmer and worker profit from large production *and* consumption. High prices maintained by deliberate scarcity are anti-social in either agriculture or industry, but farmers may have good incomes while workers have high wages if both cooperate to maintain full production, full employment, and technological improvements which will make reasonable prices profitable

The Almighty Dollar

AN EDITORIAL in the September 12 issue of *Life* condescendingly explains to the world at large the necessity of readjusting itself "to the unique sum of American resources, energy, and power." This country, it asserts with that brash dogmatism that is the trademark of the Luce publications, is so nearly self-sufficient that it is under no "inherent compulsion to sell and buy from the rest of the world in important amounts." Consequently, in meeting the responsibilities of world leadership the United States need not attempt to follow the example of nineteenth-century Britain in promoting an expanding two-way traffic in goods and investments. That is why the mainspring of American international action is not economic necessity but "conscious national generosity."

This approach to the world problem of the dollar shortage, of which the British crisis now under discussion in Washington is but one phase, seems to us faulty both psychologically and economically. The suggestion of a world dependent on American charity is an appalling one, for charity is all too often given with contempt and accepted with resentment. Moreover, *Life* implies that our generosity can only be available at a price—the right to tell those who accept it how to manage their affairs. If that is attempted, we can be sure of as fierce a reaction to American "generosity" as there was to British economic imperialism in the last century. And the main effort of reluctant recipients will be to free themselves at all costs from a servile dependence on the United States.

If that meant economic isolation, this country, according to *Life*, would not be seriously discommoded, since we could easily use at home the large surpluses of goods we now export. Perhaps so, but not unless we achieved major readjustments in our social and economic structure —readjustments which would probably call for a vast extension of government planning. For no conceivable expansion of the home market would take care of our surpluses in their present form, and our task would be to divert the excess resources employed in, say, cotton-growing to the creation of better health or educational services. Under any circumstances severe shrinkage of our present export trade would lead to a sharp dislocation of our economy, as a noted industrialist, William L. Batt, pointed out in a statement on September 10. "Any considerable reduction in exports," he said, "would quickly add to unemployment, which in turn would be translated into reduced imports and thus to an intensification of the dollar shortage."

From our point of view no less than that of foreign nations, the only tolerable solution of the present crisis is to find means of balancing our external trade at the highest level. To this end we have the right to ask Europe to make greater efforts to sell its goods in the American market. But Europe in turn has the right to ask us to remove every impediment that may hinder this task. It is these possibilities that the present Anglo-American-Canadian conversations have been exploring in the past week.

The fruits of their labors should be announced by the time this issue of *The Nation* reaches its readers. As we write, all that is definitely known is that the American government representatives have promised to revise customs procedures which impede foreign goods and to consider development loans for countries within the sterling area. Neither of these steps, desirable as they may be, will afford quick relief for the hemorrhage of dollar and gold reserves which threatens to paralyze the whole sterling area. The difficulty is that there is so little the Administration can offer without seeking either fresh legislation or new appropriations from Congress.

The mood of Congress is not, however, very propitious. It is still haggling over the E. R. P. appropriation for the current year, and a battle is being waged in the Senate against renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which would give the Administration power to effect further reductions in tariffs (see page 278). Nor are tariffs the only barriers to foreign imports. Shipments of natural rubber—a leading "dollar-earner" for the sterling area—are restricted by a law which requires rubber manufacturers to use a fixed quota of more expensive synthetic rubber. Or, to take another example, Britain, the greatest shipbuilding country in the world, cannot hope to sell ships in this country because of subsidies provided for American-built vessels. In both cases protectionist arguments are reinforced by defense considerations, and there is little reason to expect removal of these obstructions to trade.

Altogether, prospects for an expansionist solution of the dollar crisis appear far from bright, and Britain and

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of The Nation, *has been on leave to complete a new book, "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism." In this issue he resumes his regular column, Everybody's Business. It appears on page 278. Next week he will write from Washington on the sterling meetings.*

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other countries may well be forced to rely on the alternative—severe restriction of all imports from this country. They may do this either by direct controls, which the Labor government prefers, or by devaluation of their currencies, which would limit sales of American goods by raising their prices in terms of foreign currencies. In either case American export industries will suffer.

A much more serious result, if the present crisis is allowed to develop, is the opening of an unbridgeable gulf between the dollar and sterling areas. Each will be forced to seek self-sufficiency and, with that objective, will attempt to draw as many nations as possible within its orbit. The upshot might well be a trade war in which America's productive capacity would be pitted against the vital role played by the British market in the economy of so many nations. In such a contest the odds would perhaps favor the United States, but what a pyrrhic victory it would be!

Maragon in Greece

Athens, September 5

OUR correspondent in Athens writes: John Maragon, the Vaughan version of a Horatio Alger hero whose name keeps coming up at the Senate's five-percenter hearings, has also used his influence in ways less profitable and less spectacular but possibly more important than those revealed in the testimony.

Serving as part of the reactionary Greek government's pipe line through the Greek embassy in Washington to the White House, Maragon has consistently advised President Truman on "what the Greek *people* want" and has assured him of their deep devotion to "Uncle Harry" and of the absolute correctness of United States policy toward Greece. The close resemblance between Maragon's advice and the Greek embassy's desires is hardly coincidental. Many Congressmen, Senators, and government officials have been lured by Maragon's White House influence to the Greek embassy for "indoctrination." Simultaneously, the kept press of Athens speaks affectionately of Maragon, who often sends pompous messages "to the Greek people" through the most venal of the Greek newspapers.

And to demonstrate to the White House that the Greek people, as a whole, approve of the President's policy toward Greece, Maragon has lined up Americans of Greek origin to shout hosannahs for Harry. Through William Helis, the New Orleans oil man whose name has also come up in the hearings, Maragon managed to get the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, the largest organization of Americans of Greek origin, which had previously avoided all political entanglements, to commit itself in favor of the Truman Doctrine. (This was done last summer, at the association's annual convention at Detroit. Maragon and General Vaughan were there as Helis's guests.)

More than that, Maragon has been in a strong enough position to pass upon, and block, the appointment of qualified professional men who were suggested for various missions to Greece. He did this on personal grounds or at the instigation of the Greek embassy, and simply by denouncing prospective appointees as "Communists."

Maragon went to Greece in March, 1946, as a high-ranking member of the important Allied Mission for the Observation of the Greek Elections. It was an imposing and inexpensive way for a man to return to the homeland which he had left decades earlier as a penniless boy. In Athens, Maragon began to build himself up. First, he showed pictures of himself and the President in intimate and friendly poses. Then he told how he had accompanied the President to Potsdam in August, 1945, and how he flew back to Washington on the President's own plane.

Naturally, such proofs of high favor impressed some Greeks and some of the clerks and officials of the Allied Mission. With no real function to perform in Greece, Maragon, who boasted of having been a member of the FBI (he didn't explain that it was in the days of William J. Burns), spent his time trying to "investigate"—for whom, he didn't say—the various United States establishments there.

More important, he set himself up as a buffer between the mission and the press. Correspondents who dropped in at the mission's offices were suddenly approached in the corridors by Maragon and rudely cross-examined about whom they wanted to see, or had seen, and why. The situation became so intolerable that one American correspondent, Constantine Poulos of the Overseas News Agency and *The Nation,* was asked by the others to file a formal protest with Foy Kohler, a Foreign Service official who was secretary general of the mission. Poulos told Kohler that Maragon was not only obstructing newspapermen in their work but also hampering the efforts of the mission. Kohler conceded that Maragon had no business being on the mission, but pointed out that he was a "White House appointment," so—.

Thereupon Poulos cabled a dispatch to the Overseas News Agency which told the story of Maragon's actions in Greece. The story was prominently featured by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and other papers, including *Newsweek,* and caused something of a stir in Washington, where it was denied that Maragon was a White House pet. Kohler, acting on the basis of Poulos's protest, managed to force Maragon's recall from Greece.

Back in the United States, Maragon attempted to smear Poulos as a "Communist" and threatened "to get him" at all costs. This threat was made to various people in Washington, New York, and Chicago. Then Maragon bided his time.

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When the Truman Doctrine was announced on March 12, 1947, Poulos was again in Greece. In addition to his regular dispatches for the O. N. A. he wrote several articles for *The Nation* pointing out the obvious dangers inherent in such a policy. Three months later, when Poulos was in Vienna, an attempt was made by the Public Relations Division of the United States army in Austria, acting on "top secret" orders from Washington, to deprive Poulos of his accreditation as a war correspondent, though he had had his card for four years. The unsubstantiated charges against him repeated those made by Maragon fifteen months earlier: Poulos was a "Communist," he "had addressed Communist meetings in Greece" during the election period, and so on.

Thanks to Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman of the board of the O. N. A., who firmly demanded either a public hearing for Poulos with his accusers making their accusations publicly, under oath, or a dismissal of the charges, Poulos was quietly reaccredited by the army.

The character of the baseless charges made against Poulos, the War Department's reluctance to press them, and the fact that they were all related to events that occurred when Maragon was in Greece, plus Maragon's publicly proclaimed bitterness against Poulos for having exposed his petty boondoggling in Athens and forced his recall, probably furnish circumstantial evidence of Maragon's role in the attempt to besmirch the name and record of an honest correspondent. The official records of this case would prove, it seems certain, Maragon's complicity.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Schlesinger's "Vital Center"

IN THE fog of superficialities in which political life is carried on it is wonderfully refreshing to have someone come along and blow away the vapors. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., does just that—with gusto, with virtuosity, and with a bold scorn for many a shibboleth of the left. His book, "The Vital Center,"* a work of the first rank in any case, is therefore a political act as well. It will jolt a good many minds—some to fresh thought, some to political action, some to angry annoyance. It will leave none indifferent, I think, and that is a great deal to say for another book that diagnoses the ills of the world and unhesitatingly prescribes treatment.

The "fundamental cause of our distempers," Mr. Schlesinger quickly makes clear, is nothing so simple as the clash between the United States and the Soviet Union. What we are suffering is a profound anxiety attendant on "a global change-of-life." Science and technology have so swiftly and remorselessly altered the world that we have not yet had time to create a social structure "within which the individual can achieve some measure of self-fulfilment." Neither capitalism nor communism has been equal to the task of relieving this anxiety, which we in the United States have yet to feel in all its force. "Each system is charged with having dehumanized the worker, fettered the lower classes, and destroyed personal and political liberty." The task, then, is to evolve, before we sink into the long totalitarian night, a social order that can "base itself upon the emotional energies and needs of man." Democracy must be the means, but the means must be given a content that can meet the challenge of the dictator states, which live by the fact that men who flee from anxiety are men who flee from freedom. For inspiration Mr. Schlesinger taps the wellsprings of American radicalism and comes up with a "fighting faith" that is an eclectic mixture of Hamilton and Jackson, of T. R. and Wilson, all informed with the pragmatic approach of Franklin D. Roosevelt and full of his zest for politics.

If all this sounds general and abstract, Mr. Schlesinger is surely neither. On the contrary, he is specific to the point of being programmatic. He understands that history is not made by armchair choices between untainted philosophies but by the much harder and and more immediate choices of a real and imperfect world. Whether or not the American-Russian clash of power is the cause of our ills, he knows that for our lifetime it is in terms of that clash that choices will have to be expressed. His own being emphatically on the side of America, he devotes the greater part of his book to the day-to-day choices which he believes that larger decision entails—military, diplomatic, social, and political. Not all his choices may be palatable even to some of his fellow-liberals in Americans for Democratic Action, and still fewer to the "Doughface progressives," the followers of Henry Wallace, who infuriate him. Yet all are cogently argued.

In the field of world politics Schlesinger is an Administration man. He is all for what he calls the reconstruction-containment formula, with the Marshall Plan representing reconstruction and the Truman Doctrine and Atlantic Pact representing containment. The two are interdependent. "Without the Marshall Plan the Truman Doctrine would become a program of resisting communism by sheer force—and would be doomed to failure. Without the Doctrine and the Pact, the Marshall Plan would have no means of warding off the ruthless Soviet campaign against European recovery." That campaign, and in fact the whole anti-Western line, was worked out long before Roosevelt died, as Schlesinger amply demonstrates, and had nothing to do with the atom bomb or with Truman's dependence on

*Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

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generals and Wall Street bankers. The tragedy of the Czechs, Schlesinger believes, proves that you can no more fight guns solely with ideas than you can fight ideas solely with guns. But the combination, as presented by the reconstruction-containment formula, promises a period of peace long enough for a democratic federation to become established and bring "lasting prosperity and strength to the free nations of Europe."

Where Schlesinger is at his best, I think, is in his penetrating dissection of the alternatives to the "vital center" in politics; his genuinely brilliant exposition of why both old-line conservatism and "Doughface progressivism" have failed; and his really profound exposition of the fatal lure of totalitarianism. He shows how on the right the aristocratic but socially responsible tradition of the Hamiltonians faded into the narrow, craven self-seeking of the plutocrats, who were incompetent to provide good government either as Whigs or, later, as Republicans. He makes it very clear why, in spite of occasional flashes of neo-Hamiltonianism from an Adams, a Theodore Roosevelt, or a Lodge, the Republican Party holds out no hope for intelligent, let alone liberal, government.

The left comes off every bit as badly, including "the liberal weeklies," against which Schlesinger maintains a drumfire of uncomplimentary comment that at times seems almost vindictive. (He writes frequently for this liberal weekly, and so do many of the liberals to whom he pays tribute.) The chief indictment here is that the progressives, as opposed to those he calls "radical democrats," have "rejected the pragmatic tradition of the men who, from the Jacksonians to the New Dealers, learned the facts of life through the exercise of power under conditions of accountability." The heart of their offense is their "sentimental belief in progress . . . the benevolent unfolding of history," which left them wholly unprepared either to cope with the Hitlers of this world or even to recognize the Stalins for what they are.

As for the totalitarianisms, there is no room here to dwell on Schlesinger's masterful and documented discussion of the nature of their appeal as a dumping ground for personal anxieties, their intense religiosity, their absolute dependence on tension, real or fabricated, their periodic need for foreign adventures, and the essential kinship between their various forms, marked as their differences may be (" 'There is more that binds us to Bolshevism,' Hitler once observed, 'than separates us from it.' ") The chapter called The Restoration of Radical Nerve should be required reading for those who still dream of popular fronts with the Communists for reforms or short-run purposes. It is not Schlesinger but Lenin and Stalin who explain the uses to which Communists *must* put such alliances. Thus Lenin, speaking of his advice to British Communists to support the Socialist Arthur Henderson: "I wanted to support Henderson with my vote in the same way as a rope supports the hanged."

While I am in no position to offer neutral testimony on the sins of the "liberal weeklies," I have no hesitation in suggesting that Schlesinger has gone much too far in separating his pragmatic sheep from his theoretical goats: "On the one hand are the politicians, the administrators, the doers; on the other, the sentimentalists, the utopians, the wailers." That he is setting up a dangerous barrier between politicians—"good ones," of course—and their critics is all too obvious from the illustrations he cites:

> Ask a progressive what he thinks of the Mexican War, or of our national policy toward the Indians, and he will probably say that these outbursts of American imperialism are black marks on our history. Ask him whether he then regrets that California, Texas, and the West are today part of the United States. And was there perhaps some way of taking lands from the Indians or from Mexico without violating rights in the process? . . .
>
> Or take the question of the "robber barons" . . . would the Doughface reduce our industrial capacity to the point where it was when the "robber barons" came on the scene?

These breath-taking lapses into the crudest kind of "pragmatism" are ugly blotches on an eloquent tract. Lincoln, certainly as pragmatic in his politics as Schlesinger, heartily damned the Mexican War as a black mark on our history, thereby forfeiting his reelection to Congress. Similarly distasteful is the suggestion that widespread ignorance of Spain rather than thoughtful conviction was responsible for the all-out support of the Loyalists by American liberals. "People who had barely heard of Spain in 1934 became world-champion Spanish experts by 1937, though if you asked them what a Carlist was they would have been hard pressed for an answer. They did not know anything about history, but they knew what they liked." In another mood, later in the book, Mr. Schlesinger writes that "a sense of humility is indispensable to democratic politics." A good point.

Fortunately there is more than enough in this book to wipe out the blemishes many times over—so much that is lucidly argued and richly backed with quotation and information that I have hardly done more than suggest its scope. Schlesinger's discussion of the function of government in the national economy—to define the ground rules but not attempt to play every position on the team—goes to the heart of the current controversy over the "welfare state." His magnificent demonstration of the bond between fascism and communism should scotch forever the fatally foolish notion that the latter is merely a "leftward" extension

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of liberalism. It is one of Schlesinger's cardinal beliefs that the liberal has more in common with the conservative who believes in the democratic process than he has with the Communist or than the conservative has with the fascist. The extent to which they present a solid wall to the totalitarians, both Communist and fascist, is the extent to which the "vital center" will have political validity. In effect, Schlesinger calls for a shift in alignment—not left against right, but the means against the extremes. Here is fresh thinking with a vengeance, and pamphleteering in the grand manner.

Will Europe Go Right?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. Decline of the Third Force

Paris, September 3

WESTERN EUROPE today is passing through a much graver ideological crisis than anyone reading only the British or American press would realize. And the most serious symptom of it is the threatened disappearance of the so-called Third Force. But what exactly is the Third Force?

The Third Force has been much discussed as an ideological, a political, and a military concept. There was a time—about three or four years ago and, indeed, even more recently—when one frequently heard it said that Western Europe, under the inspiration of the Labor Party of Great Britain, would develop a social and ideological system of its own which would be different from both American capitalism and Soviet communism. This system would be a happy blend of Socialist planning, economic justice, and political freedom. The Third Force which produced it would largely avoid unemployment and the other scourges of capitalist organization and would help colonial peoples along the road of enlightenment and emancipation. It was hoped and believed by millions that communism would find it much harder to compete with this ideological Third Force than with old-time capitalism, as still largely represented by the United States. The weakness of the Communists in England was adduced as evidence.

The idea of a political Third Force developed its greatest strength after 1947, when the Communists were eliminated from the French and Italian governments, and when Third Force coalitions and Third Force governments, with oppositions both to their right and their left, were formed in various countries. Such parties and governments claimed to pursue progressive, middle-course policies, neither too conservative nor too socialistic.

The military, or geographical, Third Force was the brain-child of French political thinkers—or should one say, dreamers?—who, dreading another world war, liked to think of Western Europe, and especially France, as a *terrain d'entente,* a buffer sphere of wisdom and moderation, between two impetuous young colossi. Alas, long before the signing of the Atlantic Pact, which finally turned Western Europe into part of the American military sphere, this concept of the Third Force went up in smoke. Perhaps it was the least realistic of the three, though its disappearance has caused real regret to many a Frenchman. Even as late as last May, during the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris, when the Atlantic Pact had already been signed, a writer in *Le Monde* argued that although Western Europe could not now be expected to act as a buffer between America and Russia, perhaps Germany could. And he demonstrated very convincingly that the neutralization of Germany would serve the cause of peace infinitely better than its "Atlantization"—that is, its inclusion, sooner or later, in the Atlantic Pact. The writer also thought that Russia would welcome the idea. It does not, however, appear to have been discussed by the four Foreign Ministers, and latterly nothing more has been said by anybody about the "neutralization" of Germany, though it would still seem feasible, despite the division of the country. Everybody is now wondering, not *whether,* but *when* Western Germany will be admitted to the Council of Europe, and, indeed, to the Atlantic Pact. And it should be said right here that the majority of Frenchmen are profoundly disturbed by views on the German role expressed by the Americans and also by Mr. Churchill.

WHAT is Europe? What does Europe mean? More thought has been given to this question in France than in any other country. France is conscious of being the center of Western Europe, and the politically minded, who are proportionately more numerous here than in most other countries, fear that all kinds of dangerous commitments, both political and military, may be inflicted on France, almost without its knowledge. Foreign Minister Schuman said the other day that he was favorable "in principle" to the admission of Western Germany to Strasbourg, but he hastened to add that

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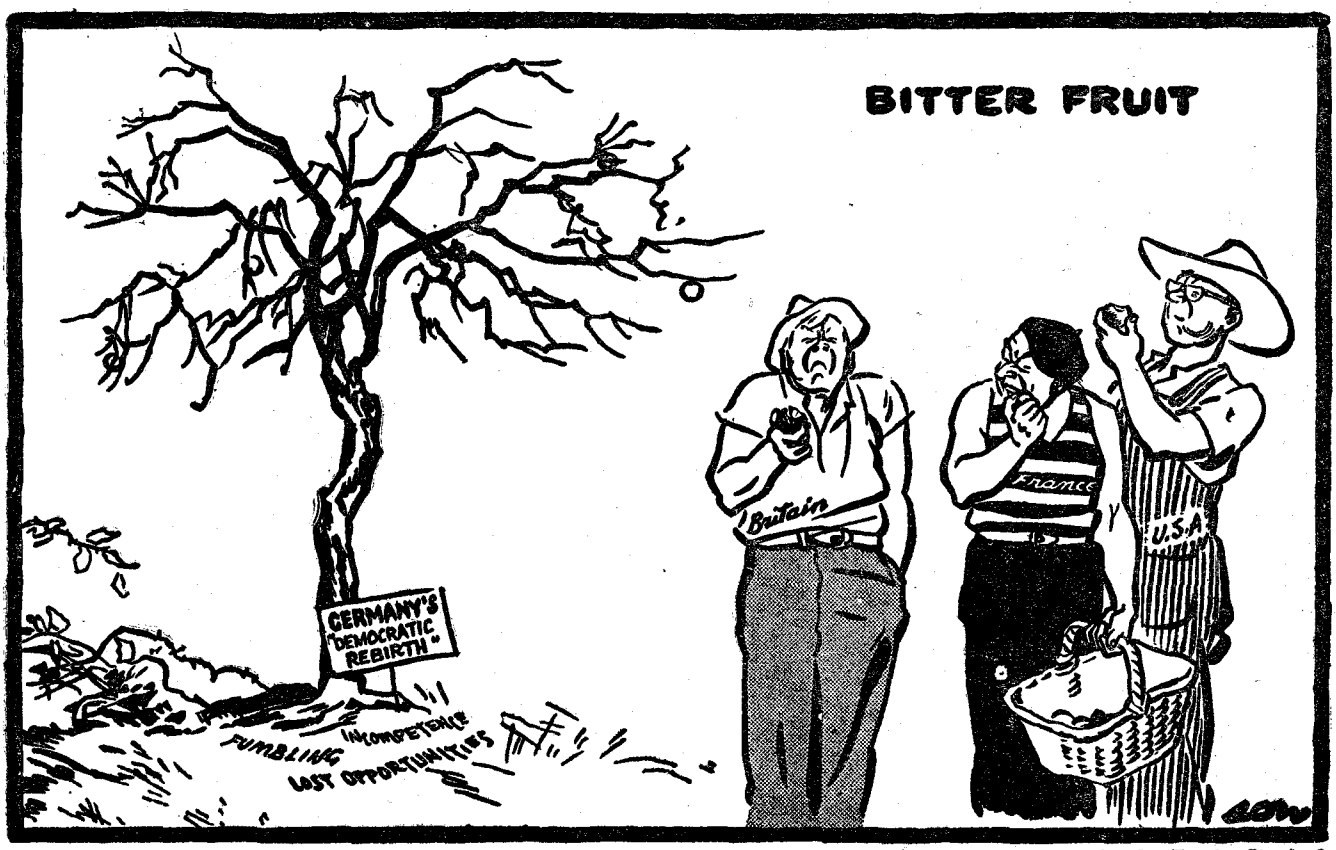
he would do nothing without the consent of both houses of Parliament. M. Bidault, also representing the M. R. P., replied to Mr. Churchill's plea in Germany's favor by producing the red herring of the Saar.

Generally, the French are skeptical about Strasbourg. *Le Monde* said the other day: "The greatest mistake the statesmen at Strasbourg could make would be to imagine that Europe has already been born. Europe has not yet even been conceived." This appeared in a paper that is very close, though not subservient, to the Quai d'Orsay. The Gaullists, in a resolution by their Central Committee, took an equally negative attitude toward Strasbourg, calling it a lot of window dressing and saying that if anything was to be made of "Europe," the first thing to do was to have a regular referendum on the question in all the European countries. If the people said they desired a European federation, it would be up to the governments to agree on a super-government which could deal, without regard for national sovereignties, with certain specific questions like trade and economic planning. This would be a step in the right direction.

To the Gaullists, Strasbourg may be merely eyewash and window dressing, but it is worse than that to many others who consider it an auxiliary body to the Atlantic Pact, one which will really begin to function the way Mr. Churchill would like to see it function only when all the governments of Western Europe, including Britain, become soundly rightist and are united in hysterical anti-communism and a worship of free enterprise. As one French commentator put it, "Is a 'United Europe' really worth having if it is to be run by De Gasperi, Churchill, Van Zeeland, and Adenauer, whose 'free enterprise' will land us in worse economic chaos than we are in already?" Such a "Europe" could only end in the triumph of the Communists or—and this would be the conservative rulers' way of preventing a Communist triumph—in war.

Here and there one also comes across what might be called the defeatist line. Thus M. Aron in *Figaro*, which perhaps more faithfully than *Le Monde* reflects the existing right-wing tendencies in the government, thought it was wisest to make the best of a bad job and try to come to terms with the German "moderates" as long as they were as "moderate" as Adenauer; the result of the German election, he argued, was the best that one could expect from the Germans, and it would be naive to suppose that denazification or democratization could have the slightest lasting effect on the Germans anyway. This sort of argument is of course merely a French echo of Mr. McCloy's delight at the outcome of the German elections, and a sign that all the rightist clans—not merely the anti-Communists but also the anti-Socialists—are getting together. As in the past, the French right—the *droite classique*, more than the Gaullists—are now placing their class interests above their national interests.

The tendency is not very clear yet, but now and then one detects a tone that reminds one of the days of Laval and of De Brinon's Comité France-Allemagne. This, however, is not yet typical of the mood of France. There



London *Evening Standard*

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is, on the contrary, a sharp distrust of Germany, especially of its "new" men—for how soon will they start screaming for the Saar?—and of the Americans, whose policy seems likely to involve France in new messes.

There is the military problem, for one thing. The French are not at all sure that France could be effectively defended against a Soviet invasion—it is assumed that that is how the next war will "inevitably" start. Some prominence was given to the statement of General de Lattre de Tassigny that while the territory of all the five signatories of the Brussels Pact would be "effectively defended," there were *nuances* between the French conception and Montgomery's conception of how this should be done. The most reassuring thing, said *Le Monde* in this connection, was that with peace-time conscription Britain would have a larger army than France, something which had never happened before. General Revers, the French Chief of Staff, speaking about the same time at a luncheon of the Anglo-American press in Paris, visualized the next war as starting with a Russian *coup de balai,* a sudden "sweep" into Western Europe; the Western Allies would have to stop such an attack just long enough to give them a chance to obliterate Russia with atom bombs. Few Frenchmen are reassured by that sort of talk: most of them don't like the idea of atom bombs being dropped anywhere, and they are not at all sure that a Russian invasion would not be just as hard to stop, even though Britain had a "superior" army, as the German invasion in 1940. At the time of the recent staff talks *Le Monde* very pointedly published a series of articles by a Major de Seversky, formerly of the czarist army, who said that it would take ten years to build up any land forces in Western Europe which could stop the Red Army as it was at present, and how strong would it be in ten years' time? In case of war, he said, the invasion of France would be inevitable, and if the Russians were to be defeated, they must be defeated by atom bombs. I don't know whether M. de Seversky is a great expert or not, but the fact that the leading French newspaper published his theories suggests how detestable the thought of war is to French opinion—whether the atom bombs do the trick or don't. The French also realize only too clearly that the "new" people in Germany—and some of those who have welcomed them—are bolder and more reckless spirits.

The Oil Men's War

BY STUART LONG

THE battle between the domestic and the international oil companies over the import of crude oil from Venezuela and the Middle East has reached such a pitch that the president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt in an effort to explain his position, and the big independent oil companies have asked Congress to come to their aid.

Some time ago Jersey Standard and the other American companies which operate in the Middle East stepped up their imports of crude oil and other petroleum products from that area. Oil is cheaper in Saudi Arabia. The single landowner, Ibn Saud, is satisfied with smaller royalties than are paid in the United States. He levies no taxes on oil. The Oil Workers' International Union, C. I. O., has not penetrated Saudi Arabia yet. There is no proration law there, except that imposed by the companies themselves for true conservation rather than for price-fixing. (Proration is the adjustment of production to expected demand on the theory that overproduction of a volatile liquid like oil is wasteful.) Wells in Saudi Arabia flow at the rate of 7,000 barrels a day; wells in Texas average 17 barrels a day under tight proration and produce only 17 days a month in most fields. Finally, oil from the Middle East, with a shorter tanker haul, is being bought by E. R. P. for Europe, and American oil is being largely shut out of that market.

Lobbyists of the American companies which operate in the Middle East try to soothe domestic producers by saying that they are buying large quantities of oil in Arabia in order to deplete the region's reserves as fast as possible so that Russia won't get them if—. But the domestic companies are less afraid of Russia than of a break in crude-oil prices in the United States. Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma has therefore introduced an amendment to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act proposing that imports of oil and refined products be limited to 5 per cent of domestic demand. (Imports currently stand at 10 per cent of domestic production and are likely to increase.) Senator Thomas's amendment would sabotage the Good Neighbor trade agreements with Venezuela and Mexico and the International Trade Organization agreements of the Havana conference and accomplish little else.

Winter before last a shortage of fuel oil in the Eastern states led to a Congressional investigation. All branches

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of the oil industry promised to see that it did not happen again. They lived up to their promise so well that when last winter turned out to be a mild one, they had so much oil on hand that their carefully rigged price structure was almost broken. Jersey Standard and other major companies had even brought Middle Eastern oil to the United States to meet the expected winter demand, but they could not sell it. As storage tanks filled up, the oil-producing states began to worry. The Texas Railroad Commission, which regulates day-by-day production in every one of the 113,402 oil wells in Texas, started to cut production on January 1 last and has cut it almost every month since. The daily allowable amount, which stood at 2,750,000 barrels in December, was down to 2,104,647 barrels by September 1.

Seligson

Eugene Holman

Texas and other oil-producing states adopted proration during the great depression, when oil prices slumped to 10 cents a barrel. Proration officials declare loftily that price plays no part in their decisions, but no one denies that their decisions have a lot to do with price. If Texas had not cut its daily production by nearly 750,000 barrels since December, crude prices would be well below the August average of $2.56 a barrel.

By February it became apparent that the restrictions were going to play havoc with the state's financial structure, which is supported by oil taxes. The late Governor Jester wrote letters to the fourteen major importing companies urging them to consider what they were doing to Texas. Eugene Holman, the former Texan who heads Jersey Standard, replied, in effect, that "Papa Standard knows best." State Senator Jimmy Phillips introduced a resolution calling on Congress to do something to limit imports of foreign oil.

THE big domestic independents, however, had done a lot of shouting about government interference with business and were not ready to run to Congress for help, especially a "Democratic" Congress. First they tried to work quietly through the United States Tariff Commission. The Independent Petroleum Association of America asked the commission to invoke the "escape clause" in the trade agreements with Venezuela and Mexico and restore full duties and excise taxes on imported oil. On May 5 the commission, by a split decision, refused to do this. Two days before the decision was announced, the I. P. A. A., apparently foreseeing what it would be, appealed to Congress, citing national-defense needs.

> The nation's security and the welfare of these many independent producers, their employees, and suppliers cannot be made subservient to the will of the ten principal importing companies, now financing exploration in the possible theaters of war by funds derived in part from the importation of foreign oil at the expense of the domestic industry. Petroleum reserves may be developed and refining facilities may be built in the theaters of future hostilities, but those will be of little value in time of war and cannot be depended upon for the maintenance of peace.

The association's resolution then asked Congress to "take action immediately" to limit imports "and thereby preserve the strength of the domestic industry so essential to our national safety." The decision to issue this appeal indicates that the ruggedly individualistic I. P. A. A. was worried by the comparative figures for 1948 and 1949. Demand was off 3 per cent. Refinery runs were down 2 per cent. Domestic production was down 4 per cent—1948 had been the best year the oil producers had known. Imports were up 33 per cent; stocks of crude oil were up 18 per cent and of refined products 33 per cent. Worst of all, prices were down 7 per cent.

The same thing that had happened to the manufacturers of automobiles, refrigerators, radio sets, and other appliances was happening to the producers of oil. Supplies had caught up with the post-war demand, and continuing high prices were repelling a part of the market. Many manufacturers, to regain their lost markets, have begun to cut prices. The I. P. A. A. prefers to restrict imports—and thus eliminate the one touch of free enterprise which has crept into the industry.

After the publication of the I. P. A. A. resolution on May 3 other voices took up the chorus. The Interstate Oil Compact Commission, composed of the governors and oil-regulatory officials of the oil-producing states, met in Jacksonville, Florida, on May 9 and urged Congress to reduce petroleum imports "so as to supplement and not supplant domestic production." A few days later Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, a member of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, got Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson to answer in writing some questions raised by the Texas Railroad Commissioner, Ernest O. Thompson. Thompson was obviously worried by Jersey Standard's contention that heavy production in the Middle East conformed with government plans to drain the area before the U. S. S. R. might grab it. Thompson knew that if the tremendous Middle Eastern reserves were thoroughly exploited in the near future, the price structure of the domestic industry would be wrecked.

Secretary Johnson's answers were very guarded:

> With respect to the cutbacks ordered by the Texas Railroad Commission, in so far as they are the result

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> of surplus capacity I should like to point out one particular beneficial result. All that part of the Texas cutbacks which is surplus is available for mobilization needs. I am sure you understand that I can speak only from the military viewpoint. . . . Moreover, I am not in a position to take into consideration all the economic factors involved in foreign imports, cutbacks in United States production, or changes in potential production capacity from time to time.

Thompson, given permission to release the letter, did so with a statement interpreting it to fit the views of the big independents, as well as the state of Texas, which by then had cut production nearly 25 per cent. According to Thompson, the Secretary had said that domestic oil operators should continue to look for new oil fields. They will not do so, he said, unless imports are reduced. Q. E. D.: A cut in imports is necessary for national security.

THE campaign continued. On May 25 Representative Wright Patman of Texas went to Dallas to hear testimony before his Committee on Small Businesses. Thompson appeared as the major witness. He advocated an import quota of 326,000 barrels a day—about the average of imports from Latin America during the war, when Middle East supplies were cut off. (Imports in December, 1948, were 645,000 barrels a day; in March of this year, 522,000 barrels a day; ever since May, from 325,000 to 400,000 a day, occasionally approaching 500,000.) H. O. Ellis, counsel for the committee, cross-examined Thompson with such fact-finding questions as this: "Then we're importing something we've got more than enough of?" Thompson agreed.

By late summer the battle with Jersey Standard was joined. The independents are always cautious about publicly blaming their troubles on Jersey Standard—no one likes to stir up the biggest boy on the block—but in private conversation they insist that Jersey's imports are just another phase of its attempt to complete its monopoly of the oil industry.

After a month of warfare Jersey Standard was finally driven to answer. First, its house organ, the *Lamp,* carried a back-cover chart which claimed to prove that exports and imports were in balance. This bit of legerdemain was achieved by estimating that military exports of domestic oil run to 100,000 barrels a day. Next Eugene Holman, testifying before the Patman committee, tried to spread oil (Esso) on the troubled waters. Jersey Standard, he said, does not want to see imports hurt the domestic producers. The buyers' market is only temporary and is due, not to imports, but to the fact that all storage space is filled. Committee Counsel Ellis tried in vain to get Holman to admit that Standard's imports have supplanted domestic oil. Holman pooh-poohed the idea that floods of foreign oil are coming into the United States, indicating that investment factors made it impossible. "Our analyses of these investment factors," he said, "have led us to the conclusion that investments for the purpose of permanently supplying the domestic market from the Middle East are not presently attractive."

Holman said Jersey Standard might bring in some more foreign oil, though not more than 3 per cent of present domestic production. But he assured the committee that if this turned out to be detrimental to the national security or domestic economy, the company would reconsider its decision. Then, possibly because Chairman Patman is a New Dealer, Holman let go with a high hard one: "I really feel that the only thing the domestic producer has to fear is fear itself."

Patman thought it over for a week and wasn't convinced. He announced a full-dress investigation into the import situation. In the Senate the Banking and Currency Committee began to examine reports from independent refiners that the major oil companies were restricting production to hold up the price of oil and gasoline, a subject on which Big Oil is touchy. Texas has an anti-trust suit under way against ten Big Oil refiners, contending that they conspire to fix gasoline prices. Both the House and the Senate investigations will direct their pressure chiefly against Big Oil, demonstrating once again the political power of the big independents.

ONE question to be answered is: How can so little be a threat to so much? Domestic oil production in 1948 was 5,907,000 barrels a day, edging up to 6,123,000 late in the year. Imports averaged 513,000 barrels a day, climbing to 645,000 in December. Both figures have dropped since January 1, imports proportionately more than domestic production. Current domestic production, despite recent declines, is close to the 1947 average of 5,449,000 barrels a day, on which, at an average of $1.92 a barrel, the industry made unprecedented profits. This was the year imports and exports were practically in balance. The sting appears to be that prices have slacked off 3 cents a barrel so far in 1949. The big independents, hewing to their philosophy of prorationing, feel they must control imports or allow prices to break a bit more.

Their claim that imports threaten drilling and wildcatting is not borne out by the facts. March and April discoveries of new oil fields and new oil beds in old fields were the greatest in history, 300 per cent above the rate of discoveries in 1939 and about 25 per cent above the 1948 rate. The wildcatters will drill as long as oil is $2.56 a barrel, or $2 a barrel, for that matter. But it is a hard fact that domestic demand for oil products is declining. Crude runs to refineries during the first week in August were nearly 300,000 barrels a day under the runs for the same week in 1948. The Bureau of Mines, which each month estimates the market demand

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for crude, has trimmed its figures every month this year.

But the merits of the case—including the possible effects of a victory for either side on the nation's foreign and defense policy—have little to do with pressure politics. The fate of the Thomas amendment will simply show whether the 18,000 independents, the co-ops, and the Oil Workers' International Union (C. I. O.) have more political power than the 7 international companies which in June were still importing crude oil. These internationals are the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (Esso) and, in alphabetical order, the Atlantic Refining Company, the Cities Service Oil Company, the Gulf Oil Company, the Sinclair-Prairie Oil Company, the Socony Vacuum Company, and the Texas Company.

Whatever happens to the amendment, by opening a second and third front against Big Oil in the House and Senate committees the big independents may be able to break down Jersey Standard's import policies. But if Jersey Standard and its colleagues lose this particular scrap, they won't really care much, for the internationals own something like 90 per cent of oil production in Texas. If they are forced to, they will get the oil there instead of from Arabia. And they will still call the signals on production and price in and out of the United States.

Australia—for Whites Only

BY ERNEST O. AMES

WITH but 7,500,000 people in an area almost as large as the United States, Australia has long been the object of envious glances from the overpopulated Asiatic countries to the north. But despite a current immigration program to boost its population to 20,000,000 in the next two decades, Australia keeps its doors tightly locked to all non-whites.

This "White Australia Policy" has been in effect for half a century, ever since the several separate Australian territories banded together as states and formed the nation of Australia. So rigidly has the color bar been enforced that today only about 1 per cent of the total population is non-white; and that 1 per cent includes many—with their later offspring—who were in Australia at the time the immigration laws were enacted and were permitted to stay, and others only temporarily in the country.

The rigidity with which the White Australia Policy is applied is bringing strong criticism of Australia from Asiatics today. Encouraged by their success in throwing off the bonds of white colonialism, East Indians, Burmese, Indians, and Filipinos—together with Chinese and Japanese—protest against being locked out of Australia. Their resentment increases every time the Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, acts to enforce the law.

Australians are not unaware of this feeling. When I was in Australia recently, the immigration question was front-page news in the newspapers almost daily and was often the subject for editorials. An editorial in the Sydney *Sunday Sun*, read in part:

> The Asian hordes have been held off and Australians have been allowed to develop their European culture. But times are rapidly changing. Today, when Mr. Calwell, implementing a fifty-year-old policy, says no to an Asiatic who wants to enter Australia, repercussions are heard around the world. Fifty years ago Asia's millions had no voice in their governments or in the press of their countries. Today the new-born, intensely nationalistic Asiatic press whips up indignation; Australia's Immigration Minister is pilloried; boycotts are threatened.

It is not only abroad that Calwell is pilloried. Every time he acts to bar or deport a non-white he is criticized by some sections of the Australian press. This press criticism, I am convinced, stems from facts not connected with immigration policy. For one thing, the press is largely opposed to the present Labor government, and Calwell, heading one department of that government, is an appropriate target for attack. There are other reasons also why he is unpopular with the press, according to Down Under journalists.

But it would be a mistake to infer that the White Australia Policy is supported only by the Labor government and its adherents. The immigration act has been enforced by all governments since 1901. With a general election scheduled for later this year, the opposition parties, if they held different views about immigration, could be expected to make political capital out of the present furor over the question. Instead, they criticize Calwell's "provocative" administration of the act but support the act itself. R. G. Casey, president of the Liberal Party, the strongest of the two opposition parties, left no doubt that White Australia had the approval of his group when he declared recently: "If there is one subject that should be beyond party politics in Australia it is our immigration policy. The vast majority of Australians want to maintain the essentials of our traditional policy at almost any cost."

A few newspapers strongly support Calwell's actions.

ERNEST O. AMES, a San Francisco journalist, recently spent two months in Australia, revisiting the places last seen during four war years in the merchant marine.

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An editorial in *Truth*, a widely read Sydney periodical, said:

> Sydney will remember the time when large numbers of American Negro troops were in this city, togther with a large number of white American troops. We well remember how the white Americans treated their Negro "fellow-Americans." . . . We know that in a large number of hotels in America Negro Americans are refused accommodations and even food. . . . That is just the kind of thing that the White Australia Policy is designed to prevent from happening in this country. . . . The White Australia Policy, like chastity, admits of no degree. . . . The country can count itself fortunate that it has . . . a Minister with the unswerving determination to see that the law and the will of the overwhelming majority of the people are faithfully served.

However, certain elements within Australia do strongly oppose the color bar. The Communists, of course, find the issue an ideal one for their purposes—just as they capitalize on every Jim Crow rule in the United States. Australian church groups also have tried to have the law changed. Prominent among the church opposition is the Reverend Alan Walker, a Methodist clergyman in New South Wales. In a recent address at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Mr. Walker called the White Australia Policy one of the four main "irritants" in the world's racial problem. The others, he said, were restrictions placed on the American Negro, South Africa's color bar, and the continuing presence of imperial powers in colonial areas.

In defense of the immigration statute, and of himself, Calwell answers that the White Australia Policy is being threatened by "sentimentalists, political agitators, Communists, and stunting newspapers." "As long as Labor is in power," he adds, "there will be no quota system for the admittance of Asiatics, no appeasements, no watering down of the White Australia Policy."

The Australian High Court early this year handed down a decision blocking the deportation of an Indonesian woman who had been given sanctuary in Australia under a "certificate of exemption" when her homeland was threatened by the Japanese soon after Pearl Harbor. The court ruled that since she had been in Australia for five years she could not be deported.

Several thousand other Asiatics were given refuge in Australia during the war, and the court's decision means that none of them can be deported if they have been there five years or longer. Critics of the White Australia Policy hailed this verdict as a great victory. It will mean that many non-whites—amahs, seamen, overseas traders, students, and others—will remain permanently in Australia, but one should not expect any other results. Calwell made this clear when he stated that he would place before the Cabinet amendments to the immigration law "which will place beyond dispute the Australian government's power to determine those who shall be admitted to, and permitted to remain in, this country. This is a right possessed by every nation." The movement to weaken Australia's discriminatory policy, however, will not be stopped even if it is many years before another victory is won as important as the court decision regarding the Indonesian woman.

In the Wind

SIX NOTES ON THE WORLD'S DILEMMA

1. The Associated Press reports that "the [Chinese] reds need time to digest what they have taken. The . . . people must be taught how to live under Communist rule. The reds have a proved technique for this. It includes the slow process of spreading literacy. . . ."

2. The *South China Morning Post* (Hongkong) reports that "the Canton authorities . . . have forbidden the use of red cloth for covering rickshaw seats, prescribing blue instead. The reason is said to be that red is symbolic of communism."

3. The Denver *Post* reports that "a 'commie hunt' in the Oklahoma house [of representatives] petered out . . . after an investigating committee interviewed fifteen faculty members of the University of Oklahoma. The probers uncovered nothing but Democrats, Presbyterians, and Rotarians."

4. An anonymous correspondent of the Ridgewood, New Jersey, Sunday *News* writes: "Congratulations to the Ridgewood folks who noticed that among the speakers at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace were two lecturers who had recently appeared in Ridgewood. Nothing worse could happen in Ridgewood than a speech by a Communist, or even by someone who thinks Communists should be allowed to make speeches. Ridgewood organizations must watch their lecturers' lists more carefully in the future. We want only those lecturers who will tell us what we already think."

5. John R. Thomson, feature writer for the Chicago *Tribune*, reveals that the reds are taking over in Illinois schools and colleges. Of a prime menace, John J. DeBoer, professor at the University of Illinois and former faculty member of the "communistic" Abraham Lincoln School and of Roosevelt University, Thomson writes: "He . . . was reported to have sat so enrapt in a speech by a Czech delegate [at the Waldorf Astoria Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace], describing how Czech youths are fed the government party line, that the ash on his cigarette grew to almost an inch before it fell on his lap."

6. Bill Vaughan of the Kansas City *Star* makes the following point: "This thing of scholarships for Communists hasn't really reached the crucial stage yet. That will come when the board of curators has to decide on turning down a 210-pound red with hands like hams, an educated toe, and the ability to run the hundred in ten seconds."

[*Readers are invited to contribute to "In the Wind" and to "No Comment." Two dollars will be paid to the contributor of any item printed.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The Beleaguered Indian

BY JOHN COLLIER

THE so-called Navajo-Hopi rehabilitation bill (S. 1407, H. R. 5208) contains two jokers. One is that it appropriates no money; it merely authorizes appropriations which have already been authorized. The second is a trick rider that not only has nothing to do with relief for these Indians of the Southwest but assures the ultimate destruction of their rights—by placing them under state laws and jurisdiction. On September 21 the Senate will vote on its conferees' report on this bill. Acceptance of the report will be the heaviest blow that Congress has dealt Indian rights in a generation. And other blows directed against the whole structure of Indian rights are scheduled to follow.

The Navajos are the largest Indian tribe in the United States. The eleven Hopi pueblos within the Navajo boundaries represent pre-Columbian Indian culture in its highest and most complex form north of Mexico. Both Navajos and Hopis need increased physical facilities and extended services. The appropriations required are without exception fully authorized by existing law.

The Navajo-Hopi bill began its career as a bill reauthorizing appropriations totaling about ninety million dollars to be expended during a ten-year period. Technically needless, the value of the bill was its restatement of Congressional intent. In this form the Senate passed it. Then the House, chiefly because of the insistence of Representative Fernandez of New Mexico, turned the mildly benign measure into one which will disrupt the Indians' social organization, destroy their culture, and do nothing for their economic rehabilitation. The Interior Department did not protest or resist. The bill was passed by the House in its distorted form and went to conference. After a somewhat better than token resistance, the Senate conferees yielded, and now the Senate must accept or reject their action.

Section 9 is the malign heart of the Navajo-Hopi bill. Overriding the organic acts and constitutions of the four states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado, it subjects the Navajos and Hopis to all state laws—with minor exceptions in matters of land laws and property taxation—and places them individually and collectively under the jurisdiction of state and local courts.

More space than I have at my disposal would be needed to explain how much will be destroyed if the Senate enacts this Section 9. Navajos and Hopis live under customary law, formulated and adjusted through hundreds of years. They have their own tribunals for the little enforcement needed: in tribes whose cultures and social orders are dynamic, all-embracing realities customary law is a way of life lived affirmatively. Major crimes, since a long time ago, have come under federal law enforced through the United States courts.

The tribal customary law is closely bound up with the prestige system, ceremonial life, the arts, the relations of the generations, formation of personality, and the communal power to do and to resist. Throughout the dark century of Indian affairs which ended about 1930, one of the two major means of despoiling the Indians of their property was the enforced breakdown of customary law and of the tribal and communal systems which it served. The other was direct assault upon Indian lands through compulsory individualization of holdings and direct expropriation. Both these methods are now being revived in Congress.

Section 9 is the entering wedge. Next will come the Butler-Dewart bill (S. 188, H. R. 1537), which would destroy the age-old law-and-order systems of all Indian tribes in the United States. The Alaska Expropriation, or Butler-Cain, bill (S. 363) abolishes at one fell swoop all the Alaskan Indian reservations and forbids the creation of any new ones (the power to establish new reservations was given the Secretary of the Interior by the Indian Reorganization Act). Another Butler-Dewart bill (S. 186, H. R. 2724) strikes at all Indian corporate and shared properties by authorizing any individual Indian, if declared "competent," to alienate his equity without the consent of the other Indian owners. Thus in a slightly changed guise the land-allotment system will be revived—the system which transferred ninety million acres of the best Indian lands to white men in the forty-five years before 1933. Finally, to insure a quick killing, Butler and Dewart are pressing another bill (S. 726, H. R. 2725) which would compel the Secretary of the Interior to sell at once all inherited allotted lands of Indians.

A mere listing of these converging assaults against Indian social life and property does not tell the whole story. Their purpose is not only the destruction of the freedom-giving and life-building measures worked out by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harold L. Ickes for and with the Indians but the ending of all effective federal responsibility in Indian matters. These assaults take off from the point where the notorious Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall was stopped in 1923. The danger is great, because the Administration offers either feeble re-

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sistance or none, and Congressmen show little awareness of the traditional American commitment concerning Indians. Public opinion must become effective at once, or it can only lament the fatal things that have been done. The immediate issue is Section 9 of the Navajo-Hopi bill. The Senate will act on this on September 21 or soon afterward.

Catholics in Action

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, September 8

REGARDING Italy as the key to its worldwide power, the Roman Catholic church aims to dominate Italian life—religious, political, and social. To this end it has created Catholic Action, an organization which claims three million members and is the most powerful mass movement in Italy today. Catholic Action has cells even in the tiniest villages, but it depends directly upon the Pope, who appoints its leaders. Its goal is to increase the participation of the people in the apostolic mission of the church.

The Fascist government kept Catholic Action under strict control and prevented it from interfering in the business of the state: its activities were limited to the religious field. The only mass movement to survive the fall of Mussolini, with a perfect organization and well-trained leadership, it had at the close of the war a great advantage over the political parties that were laboriously trying to acquire shape and a following. Seizing the opportunity offered by the overthrow of fascism, it began at once to organize the youth of Italy. Teen-age boys and girls quickly ceased to be "Young Fascists" and became Catholic "boy scouts." Gymnasiums were taken over and new clubs opened.

The most influential leader of Catholic Action is Luigi Gedda, a Piedmontese physician. Gedda had his training during the Fascist regime, when he succeeded, in spite of many difficulties, in keeping Catholic Action's youth movement alive. He belongs to that wing of his organization which believes it should direct not only the spiritual but the political activities of Catholics. Shortly before the general elections of April, 1948, he translated this belief into action by organizing so-called Civic Committees to coordinate the work of the approximately 850 Catholic organizations. Every one of these organizations, religious or secular, was thus directed from Rome to campaign for Christian Democracy. Besides using local agents, Gedda sent 3,000 propagandists all over Italy, especially to the south and to Sicily and Sardinia. The results were impressive: De Gasperi owed his victory largely to the Civic Committees.

The Italian constitution and the Lateran Pacts agree that Catholic Action shall take no part in politics, but its leaders maintain that whenever a political problem relates to the church, the family, schools, or labor unions, it becomes also "moral" and Catholics cannot ignore it. So far these problems have been solved according to the wishes of the church. Relations between state and church were settled when the present Italian constitution accepted the Lateran Pacts, which grant the church a great number of privileges. A family question was decided by denying Italians the right of divorce. As to the schools, the Minister of Public Instruction, Guido Gonella, former editor of the Vatican's *Osservatore Romano,* has seen to it that the provision of the Lateran Pacts requiring instruction in public schools to conform to Catholic doctrine is strictly carried out.

To secure what Catholic Action calls "syndical freedom" has been more difficult. For years the Pope strenuously objected to Catholics joining the General Confederation of Italian Labor, which is under leftist leadership. "We cannot tolerate," he used to say, "that workers, to earn higher wages, should lose their soul." The Association of Italian Workers, created by Catholic Action for the moral instruction of Italian workers, took the necessary steps to separate Catholic workers from the General Confederation. A new organization under Catholic leadership now claims over a million members.

Catholic Action not only engages in independent political action but has direct control over the Christian Democratic Party. The church identifies itself with Catholic Action but not with Christian Democracy, and directs the former to keep the party in line. It will be remembered that at Rome's municipal election in 1947 De Gasperi lost 100,000 votes because Catholic Action objected to his having Communists and Socialists in his Cabinet.

Many Christian Democrats consider their party's dependence on Catholic Action very dangerous. They maintain that the function of Catholic Action should be simply to supply spiritual guidance for the furtherance of moral principles. De Gasperi is believed to have informed high ecclesiastical authorities more than once of his party's fears that the continued direct interference of a Vatican-controlled organization in Italy's internal affairs might alienate large numbers of independent voters who have supported Christian Democracy as an organized anti-Communist front and not out of religious feeling. But the Vatican is determined to strengthen Catholic Action even if this should mean weakening Christian Democracy. Political parties come and go, and conditions might arise in which the Vatican would find it inexpedient to support De Gasperi any longer.

MARIO ROSSI, The Nation's *correspondent in Italy, wrote last week on the church's use of excommunication to tighten its control over Italy.*

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Cross-Purposes on Sterling

WASHINGTON has long been a favorite haunt of the Spirit of Irony, and it is certainly enjoying a sojourn there at the present time. We can imagine it hovering over the Treasury Building listening to Secretary Snyder telling Bevin and Cripps that British goods must be cheapened so that they will sell in the competitive American market. Then, flitting to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, it will overhear Republican Senators expounding the thesis that cheap foreign goods are a menace to American industry, a menace which must be curbed by retention of stout tariff walls.

It is common knowledge that the British delegates to the Anglo-American-Canadian conference are asking for further reductions in United States import duties and for a revision of those customs procedures which are often an even more effective barrier to foreign goods. They will get a sympathetic hearing from some of the American representatives but probably little more, for the unfortunate coincidence of an old-fashioned tariff debate on Capitol Hill is bound to inhibit Administration spokesmen from committing themselves on this subject. They must keep quiet and hope that after the G. O. P. leaders have blown off steam, the Senate will follow the House in renewing the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in an acceptable form.

The Senate Republicans are not opposing this legislation outright. Their strategy is to write in those curbs on tariff reductions which were imposed by the Eightieth Congress when the act last came up for renewal. Chief among these is the so-called "peril-point" clause, which authorizes the Tariff Commission to determine the levels at which cuts in import duties threaten injury to American industry. If the President rejects the commission's findings, he must give Congress his reasons.

There are two major objections to this clause. In the first place, there is the difficulty of defining what is injurious to American industry. Tariff cuts are always painful to producers whose goods are directly or indirectly in competition with foreign products, and they may on occasion put marginal firms out of business. But how is it possible to determine with any scientific exactitude whether injuries suffered are so great as to offset benefits to the economy as a whole? And will not any increase in imports rendered possible by tariff cuts improve prospects of foreign sales for the many manufacturers and primary producers whose prosperity depends on export of their surplus output? The text of the "peril-point" clause fails to make clear whether the Tariff Commission is expected to consider such larger questions or is merely required to treat each industry as an isolated unit.

A second objection to the clause is the power it gives to the Tariff Commission to mar foreign economic policy, if not to make it. To take a concrete case: this summer the United States participated with more than thirty other nations in drafting at Annecy, France, a multilateral reciprocal agreement for tariff reductions. The concessions made in the course of these negotiations have not yet been announced, but some of them may well, from the narrow standpoint of the Tariff Commission, involve "injury" to some American industries. If the "peril-point" clause is allowed to stand, therefore, this agreement, the drafting of which is largely due to American initiative, could easily be wrecked. For although, as previously stated, the President could disregard the findings of the commission, he would expose himself, as Senator Robertson pointed out on September 7, "to the charge of setting himself up as a higher technical authority than his own tariff commissioners."

It is a strange thing that some of the Senators who oppose renewal of the Trade Agreements Act unless it is hedged about with restrictions are among the advocates of devaluation of sterling. From the point of view of American producers of, say, woolens or shoes or chinaware, a cut in the sterling exchange rate would have very much the same effect as a reduction in the import duties on these articles. It would mean that their British competitors could sell more cheaply and, probably, capture a larger share of the market. Indeed, if sterling is devalued, there is every reason to anticipate sharp protests from some American industries and demands for higher tariffs to offset the injurious effects of the depreciation of sterling. Thus devaluation, even though the competitive advantage it gave to imports would prove only temporary, would strengthen resistance to further tariff cuts.

It is to be hoped that the simultaneous discussion of the dollar shortage at the Treasury and of tariffs in the Senate will serve to make plain the anachronistic nature of American protectionism. Here is the United States attempting to sell to the rest of the world twice as much as it buys. Everyone knows by now that such a situation can only continue as long as the gap between imports and exports is filled by gifts or loans, which, unless they can be repaid by shipments of goods, must eventually be defaulted. The American government, therefore, backed by the press and the voices of business, is frantically urging Britain and other European countries to trim their costs, to cheapen their goods, to force their way into the American market. Yet, as Republican speeches and the complaints of many American industrialists show, there is still a fear of foreign goods, a belief that foreign competition will somehow undermine American prosperity.

Americans have got to make up their minds that they cannot have it both ways. If foreign receipts and foreign payments are to balance at a high level—and nearly all economists agree that is essential for continued prosperity—the barriers hindering the entrance of imports must come down. That, it is true, is not a complete answer to the problem of the world dollar shortage. But until the United States proclaims itself a really free market, its spokesmen cannot avoid the charge of inconsistency when they lecture other nations on the importance of pricing their goods competitively for the American market.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

DICKENS: THE REPUTATION REVISED

BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

POETS, Homer the first among them, have always rivaled heroes, saints, and martyrs in the mythology of cultures. It remained for romanticism, however, with its cult of symbolic individualism, to render every man of letters susceptible to the inflation or distortion of personal and ethnic legend. When Keats called Shakespeare's "a life of allegory" on which his works are "the comment," he doubtless took his cue from examples near at hand—Rousseau, Byron, Goethe: cases that initiated a modern tradition which was to accelerate in impetus with each succeeding decade. France in the nineteenth century became particularly rich in instances of what Raymond Mortimer has called the "idiosyncrasies that edify a legend," characters who "made themselves vivid by public energy or personal eccentricity"—"Lamartine in the February Revolution, Victor Hugo hurling chastisements from his island exile, Musset tossed by turbulent amours, Nerval hanging himself top-hatted from a lamp-post, Baudelaire enslaved simultaneously by his mother, by drugs, and by an angry drab, Verlaine reeling between the confessional and the lupanar, Rimbaud ruthlessly discarding his genius to trade in Ethiopian slaves"; even Mallarmé, "indefatigably distilling essences and intricating spells, living in poetry as the saints have sought to live in God," while leading the outward life of "a schoolmaster, just not too inefficient to keep his job, his poverty genteel rather than picturesque . . . alternating between his classroom and the poky flat where his wife and daughter darned in the lamplight." But neither America nor England has lagged in examples: America with a succession that extends from Franklin and Poe to Crane and Fitzgerald, England with a rich line that followed Byron in figuring the fortunes of the "culture hero" or scapegoat—it includes men as diverse as Dickens, Swinburne, Wilde, and Lawrence.

Where once the accretion of fable was slow, requiring centuries for its visible accumulation, the past century and a half has seen the process accelerate to the point where the legend may claim the author well before his death. Byron, Rimbaud, and Lawrence became mythologized within their lifetimes; Kafka, Joyce, and Hart Crane from the moments of their demise. Such legend has its undoubted function in the publicity of literature, the propaganda of culture, the apotheosis of *Zeitgeist*. Equally it imposes its handicap on the historian or biographer, never more so than when it is discovered that the legend proves to be at odds with fact. A truth, hitherto suppressed or ignored, suddenly punctures the benign or simplifying screen of fiction. A benignant Wordsworth yields to the research of Legouis and Harper, a diabolic Baudelaire to Porché, Enid Starkie, and René Laforgue, Shelley to Robert Metcalf Smith, Ruskin to R. H. Wilenski and Admiral William James. Standard biographies must suddenly be revised or questioned. More seriously, since nothing influences criticism so much as a legendary reputation, the standardized interpretation of the artist's work must also be checked or corrected. A random fact, sprung unawares, is often enough to instigate a fresh reading or appraisal of a writer's work. The case of Dickens is instructive.

In 1928 J. W. T. Ley brought out his modern edition, "edited and annotated," of John Forster's "Life." As an appendix this printed, like earlier editions, the text of Dickens's will. The first name in it was that of Ellen Ternan, to whom Dickens made his first bequest of a thousand pounds. Her name, again as in all earlier editions, appeared nowhere else in the book. The Stracheyans —Ralph Strauss, Hugh Kingsmill, C. E. Bechofer-Roberts with a paltry piece of "fictionized biography" called "This Side Idolatry"—had been busy with Dickens during the twenties, all of them deflationary and anti-Victorian in bias, all of them intent on dispelling Carlyle's, and Chesterton's, version of "the good, the gentle, high-gifted, ever-friendly, noble Dickens, every inch of him an honest man," but all of them missing the clue that might have turned the trick of reducing the fabulous Dickens to human and credible proportions. It remained for that "nosiest of literary snoopers," the Reverend Thomas Wright of Olney, who had already set the mortal remains of Cowper, Blake, FitzGerald, and Walter Pater to revolving in their graves, to ferret out the identity of Ellen Ternan when he published his "Life of Charles Dickens" in 1935. Presently, in 1938, the Nonesuch Edition furnished the first comprehensive edition of Dickens's letters. In 1939 a Miss Gladys Storey published an ill-written, undocumented, but highly suggestive book called "Dickens and Daughter," purportedly based on evidence supplied her by Dickens's last surviving daughter, Kate Dickens Perugini, and laying open the distresses of Dickens's family life, his separation from his wife, his liaison with Ellen Ternan, and a distracted, exacerbated character beyond anything such earlier memoirists as Dolby, Sala, Yates, and Percy Fitzgerald had recorded.

The sentimentalized Dickens of popular fancy, laureate of the English hearth, saint of Victorian domesticity, the aging dreamer depicted in a celebrated picture surrounded by the fairies, gnomes, and ogres of his benevolent imagination, was roughly dislodged. The hint of both biographers and critics was unmistakable. Edmund Wilson was the first to make use of it in his essay "Dickens: The Two Scrooges" in 1940, but others soon followed—George Orwell, Humphry House in a fine study of "The Dickens World" in 1942, the French critic Alain in a sensitive reading called "En lisant Dickens" in 1945, F. R. Leavis extolling the poetic realism of "Hard Times." All of them repudiated the

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folkloristic approach of Chesterton. All of them reclaimed and extended the serious view of Dickens that had inspired his three greatest critics—Taine, Gissing, and Shaw (to whom may be added T. A. Jackson, whose book of 1937, "Charles Dickens: The Progress of a Radical," despite its Marxist straitjacketing of the novels, did succeed in suggesting their weight as history and social criticism). All of them were concerned to correct the *niaiserie* of the popular Victorian fable. Now, within the past four years, two biographers have taken the cue: Dame Una Pope-Hennessy in her "Charles Dickens" (published here by Howell, Soskin in 1946), and Hesketh Pearson this year in his "Dickens: His Character, Comedy, and Career" (Harper, $4). And word is current that two other biographers, one English (Jack Lindsay) and one American, are presently to publish further lives.

It must be said at once that Dame Una and Mr. Pearson have not abused their privilege by writing facile exposés in the style of Strachey's imitators or the debunking vogue of the twenties. What Mr. Mencken once called "the Freud ammunition-dump of horrors" has been detonated with restraint. Dame Una writes with an honesty almost plodding in its sobriety, supplies few documents but adheres painfully to the letter of her evidence, builds a picture of Victorian life quite Victorian in its density, shows a complete saturation in Dickens's works and lore, but betrays her critical ineptitude by supplying a pedestrian summary of each novel in its turn. Mr. Pearson shows the racier hand that has already served him in his books on Wilde, Shaw, Hazlitt, and other sitters, a fine scissors-and-paste skill in culling and mounting a great fund of anecdotes, a narrative art born of the higher journalism, a cavalier disregard (as in his Wilde and Shaw books) for the aesthetic and political bearings of his subject, and some effort to arrive at his own estimate of the novels, as when he says of "Great Expectations" that it "has been overpraised in relation to Dickens's other novels, perhaps because it is shorter than most, possibly because it is less complicated than most," or of "Bleak House" that "sometimes one is tempted to define the work of Dickens as a blazing volcano of genius almost entirely surrounded by a morass of imbecility." He too omits documents, and his bibliography is slipshod. But his book is the best biography of Dickens we have to date, reads attractively, and must serve until the complete and classic "life," for which the opportunity is now ripe, appears.

Both books are best in depicting the youth and early life of Dickens in the yeasty Georgian world and harassed household that bred his precocious genius. Both founder drastically when his middle and later novels require, for proper justice or evaluation, a critical and historical acumen which neither of these biographers commands. Neither scants, but neither vulgarizes, the facts of Dickens's recurrent obduracy in social and personal relations, his generous but exasperated treatment of a horde of sponging relatives ("All I ever had left me was relatives!"), his reckless and inept fatherhood ("My wife has presented me with No. 10. I think I could have dispensed with the compliment," upon which Dame Una comments that Mrs. Dickens's husband became "desperately tired of the babies he seemed to think she alone was responsible for"), his imperious dismissal of a dull and exhausted wife, and his infatuation, enslaving like his other passions for young girls and doomed to a similarly bitter end, for Ellen Ternan. (Here the evidence is still curiously scanty; there exists, I believe, no official document on the child said to have been born of the union.) But what does succeed in emerging from both books is the full-bodied Dickens, compact of the errors, delusions, vigor, and genius of his age and of his novels, that has been revealed within the past fifteen years and that has given a new lease on life to his powerful, his radical and essential, talent. His books, like all books, remain what they were when he wrote them. It is our reading of them that has been renewed in vital interest, and that interest has been stimulated by a character and imaginative thinker only lately fully disclosed.

Shaw was one of the first readers of Dickens privileged by such interest. He, like Dostoevski, Henry James, Proust, and Joyce, shows the real impact of Dickens on the modern imagination, rather than the DeMorgans, Wellses, and Priestleys usually taken to be his descendants. It was, by Shaw's own account, "Little Dorrit" read in youth, not Marx or Nietzsche, that made him a revolutionist, and he has twice acknowledged this debt in some detail, in prefaces to "Hard Times" and "Great Expectations." Dickens, Shaw has said, "in spite of his exuberance, was a deeply reserved man—his imagination was ceaseless, and his outward life a feat of acting from beginning to end." And after noting that "Marx and Dickens were contemporaries living in the same city and pursuing the same profession" and that "Marx knew that he was a revolutionist whilst Dickens had not the faintest suspicion of that part of his calling," he added that " 'Little Dorrit' is a more seditious book than 'Das Kapital.' All over Europe men and women are in prison for pamphlets and speeches which are to 'Little Dorrit' as red pepper to dynamite." Furthermore, an H. G. Wells "hated being a draper's assistant as much as Dickens hated being a warehouse boy, but he was not in the least ashamed of it" and would have known only too well that Dickens's "agonizing sensitiveness about the blacking bottles and his resentment of his mother's opposition to his escape from them was... too snobbish to deserve all the sympathy he claimed for it." Put this remark together with Dickens's truculent behavior in the affair with Miss Ternan, his efforts to square the situation with conventional Victorian respectability by publishing his defense of it in his respectable domestic magazine, *Household Words,* his demand (obeyed) that his wife likewise square Miss Ternan's position by making a call on her, and his living, in the final years of his life, between his official shrine at Gad's Hill and the house he maintained for Miss Ternan in London, and we get what is probably the essential clue to Dickens's character and point of vantage in his age. It is a clue that corrects both the virtuously humane Dickens of Chesterton and the convinced revolutionary of Jackson.

The actual Dickens was neither of these. Taine sensed the fact, Gissing got hold of it though with some uncertainty, Wilson has traced its line through the novels with definitive insight until he arrives at what is, I feel certain, its real and final development in the character of John Jasper, divided between the laws of society and the compulsive outlawry of selfhood, in "Edwin Drood." A critic in *Scrutiny,* R. C. Churchill, re-

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fers to it when he says that "it is a mistake to look in Dickens's writings for 'solutions'"; that "the sentimentality and vulgarity of the age he accepted with open arms; he was an important part, himself, of that sentimentality and vulgarity"; and that "the very confusion which would attend any attempt to view Dickens's labors as a whole has an attraction, and a certain value." The impurest of novelists, Dickens was also an impure thinker, as impure on both scores as Balzac, Hugo, or some of the Russians who took their impetus from him. He perhaps never wrote a syllable in complete detachment or cool control of himself. His critical intelligence, his resistance to institutions, his struggling grasp of his century's events and causes, were persistently threatened by his immersion in the heat and confusion of his world. But for all the tricks and devices he traded in, the melodrama and comedy he inherited, the social compromise he accepted, the scientific pretensions he shared with Balzac, he did not essentially simplify humanity, society, or morals.

Incapable as an aesthete, he was also incapable as a theorist. But this makes emphatic his survival as an artist, the kind who generates and fecundates the art which he leaves purer craftsmen and moralists to distil or perfect. His mere range as a *writer* makes an inexhaustibly fascinating study, if only because, like Beethoven in music, he can be seen to anticipate, from style to style, a whole range of writers who followed him—James, Conrad, Proust, Joyce. Mr. Leavis, in his rigorous challenge to the standardized view of the English novel, "The Great Tradition," admits him to the select company of the great—Austen, Eliot, James, Conrad, Lawrence—on the strength of "Hard Times," defining in that novel powers which certainly have a wider, if qualified, relevance: a "comprehensive vision"; a "full critical vision, a stamina, a flexibility combined with consistency, and a depth that he seems to have had little credit for"; "a triumph of ironic art"; a power to see "the common manifestations of human kindness, and the essential virtues, asserting themselves in the midst of ugliness, squalor, and banality" before which "his warmly sympathetic response has no disgust to overcome"; above all, "the truly dramatic and profoundly poetic whole" he made of his insights and responses.

The task of criticism lies exactly in the discernment of this vision and poetry, and of the means—so vexedly personal, so deeply implicated in human and social confusion, so radically true to experience, so copiously varied and instinctively creative—by which he realized them. Where biographical research aids the restitution of this larger and greater Dickens it makes a radical contribution to criticism and to something more—to an understanding of the vital sources out of which the genuine art in the modern novel has emerged and on which it must count in the future.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE OASIS," by Mary McCarthy (Random House, $2), is a brief satiric novel in which the author transports some fifty people—intellectuals and near intellectuals—to a mountain top where they propose to establish Utopia in an abandoned resort hotel. The atomic war, it seems, is about to begin, and the mountain-top community is designed to be a refuge from the foolish and dangerous world below as well as an example to it.

The leaders of the group, more or less self-appointed, are left-wing (anti-Stalinist) intellectuals from New York, who are already split into the purist and realist factions before the hegira begins. There are also "two editors of a national news weekly, a Latinist teacher of boys who practiced a Benedictine Catholicism, an unemployed veteran of the Second World War, a girl student, a Protestant clergyman, a trade-union publicist, several New York high-school teachers, an alcoholic woman illustrator, an unmarried private secretary who would organize games for the children, a middle-aged poet who had once been a Southern agrarian, an actor, and a radio-script writer. . . ." There is one business man, Joe Lockman, who turns out to be the catalytic agent in the trouble that soon begins. In the background there is the Founder, an Italian anarchist who "had disappeared in a darkened city of Europe."

Miss McCarthy gives us portraits of the leaders and of Joe Lockman which are as clever as they are malicious. She has wit and gusto; she also has a bent for fastening upon some ridiculous or petty or pathetic aspect of a personality and she takes delight not only in exposing this defect but in making it central. The result is caricature rather than characterization, but it is, for the moment at least, effective. And since she has no qualms about using her best friends and closest associates as material for her fiction, it is small wonder that "The Oasis" has been one of the lesser scandals of 1949.

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But writers have always used their friends in their fiction, and the fact that Miss McCarthy has followed an old custom in a particularly mischievous way is, from the critic's point of view, quite irrelevant. The shocking thing about "The Oasis," to me at least, is that it is not serious either as a work of art or as the satiric comment it purports to be on our contemporary intellectual and political life.

It fails as a story in the most elementary sense: the action of the piece, which from the rather elaborate and portentous presentation of scene and character we are led to expect will be important as development or as statement of a point of view, is inconsequential and frivolous.

As satire the book is likewise inconsequential and frivolous. Satire, good satire, breathes hatred of evil and stupidity—but its mainspring is love of the good and the intelligent. It always subsumes a passionate belief in moral values and is therefore basically affirmative. (For a recent book that fulfils the specifications see George Orwell's "1984.") There is neither hatred nor love in "The Oasis," nor any affirmation. It expresses, indeed, no emotions more positive, or less safe, than condescension and scorn. This condescension and scorn are visited without ruth not only upon the characters but upon ideas and beliefs as well, but the human values, the ideas and beliefs, on which the author's judgments are based never emerge. In a word, the frame of reference, which alone could give the story meaning and dramatic form, is missing.

Of Joe Lockman Miss McCarthy remarks that "he had made himself grotesque for fear of becoming ridiculous. . . ." I suspect that her own grotesquerie on the mountain top has a similar source—a fear of being serious, and of being taken seriously, about serious matters.

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U. S. A. MEASURE OF A NATION. By Thomas R. Carskadon and Rudolf Modley. Prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund. Published by the Macmillan Company. $1.

THIS is in many ways such a good book that its shortcomings may be condoned. But since it has been extravagantly praised, there should be room for a minority report.

The most serious flaw is simply a matter of time: as published in 1949, "U. S. A." is a popularization and picturization of a much longer and more detailed study published by the Twentieth Century Fund in 1947. This does not seem sufficient justification for perpetuating estimates which are completely out of date. Specifically, the projections in almost every chapter are based on an assumed national income of $165.4 billion (in 1947 prices) in 1950, and $190.3 billion in 1960. These estimates were conservative when made in 1946 or early 1947; since the actual national income in 1947 was $202.5 billion, there is not much excuse for presenting the figures today as the "measure of a nation."

The discrepancy becomes more glaring in the light of the statement in Chapter 21 that by increasing the estimated output for 1960 only 8 per cent we could have adequate medical care, diet, housing, education, and soil conservation. Well, the actual figure in 1947 was already more than 6 per cent above the 1960 estimate in the book, and we had none of those things. Of course part of the answer is that we did not spend the money properly, but in the light of current facts the following quotation from page 98 may be regarded as a triumph of understatement: "We offer no formula, no advice on political or economic policies, to bring this production about. Many persons will feel that we thus ignore the real heart of the matter."

A few other flaws are worth mentioning. Granted that the book is popularization and that sources may be looked up in the original Twentieth Century Fund study, even the poor average reader might like to have some more convenient indication of where the figures come from. Census reports and rough estimates are mixed up without the slightest clue as to which are reasonably reliable figures and which almost pure guesses. For example, "A Suggested Clothing Standard—Adequate for a City Woman" on page 26 is presented not only without source but without explanation as to income level or occupation. A good many working girls might consider three cotton street dresses and five rayon dresses every four years something less than enough, even with two woolen skirts and a few blouses and sweaters thrown in.

The many charts are attractive; unfortunately, their simplification is sometimes misleading. A chart on page 75 shows government spending from 1913 to 1932 and from 1932 to 1941. Since the line from the 1932 level to the 1941 level is straight, and since defense spending raised the federal total from less than $9 billion in 1940 to nearly $13 billion in 1941, a casual reader would receive a wholly inaccurate impression of steady and rapid increase in spending during the earlier days of the New Deal. For that matter, it is equally misleading to show a line from 1913 to 1932 with no hump for World War I.

Despite all these defects—and a few others—the book makes a real contribution toward spreading information about the development of American production and resources. It recognizes failures as well as achievements, especially in the fields of education, health, and housing. It presents a lot of important facts in palatable form, and there is no deliberate intention to mislead anyone—the weaknesses can all be put down as examples of the dangers of oversimplification. There is great need for more popular exposition of this kind, and this is a good attempt, even though it shows that the techniques are a long way from being perfected.

But precisely because popularizations like this are sure to find a much wider audience than such magnificent compilations as "Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945," recently published by the Census Bureau, it is important that they should be subjected

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to rigorous criticism. An error in a book intended for scholars is much less dangerous than the same error in a book bought by the general public. Misleading statements or illustrations cannot be excused because they are contained in a presentation which is, on the whole, on the side of the angels.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Metternich Reconsidered

CONSERVATISM REVISITED. The Revolt Against Revolt, 1815-1949. By Peter Viereck. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

IT IS passing strange that one of our best poets should also write sense. But why accept Ezra Pound as our norm? The kinship of insanity and genius is a Methuselah among fallacies. Thomas Mann could create Leverkühn without selling his soul to the devil. It is strange also that a young man should show the quiet wisdom so deplorably lacking in aging dictators and senators. But age is another delusion: there are spiritual families, irrespective of years. Viereck and I agree, although separated by the abyss of four decades, because we both agree with his (ideal, if not fictitious) Metternich: we are *socialistes conservateurs*. Truths may not be eternal; but all reliable truths are very old. To trick them out in "New Look" garb does not increase their validity.

So I agree almost miraculously with Viereck's political philosophy. We both believe that eruptions, earthquakes, floods, tidal waves, wars, and revolutions are deplorable and, in the long run, unimportant. We both believe that the word "liberal" has lost all value, because in America it vaguely means "leftist," in France it definitely means "reactionary." We both believe, however, that liberty is our most precious possession. We both believe that freedom from worldly care, first condition of liberal nurture, is more important than freedom to grab and hog. We both hold it a self-evident truth that men were not created equals. But we believe that any claim to privilege is a sign of selfishness and cowardice. The true élite only seek higher and sterner duties: *noblesse oblige*. And if I should prefer to call myself a humanist rather than a conservative, in this again I am following a hint of Viereck's.

But he is a professor of history, and wants to make his case in historical terms—a vindication of Metternich. Here we remain within hailing distance, yet our paths diverge. Viereck properly distrusts the National Democrats, whose course, from Herder to Hitler, was a disastrous rake's progress. Metternich too opposed them, but this is no reason why we should uphold Metternich. Mussolini fought communism, and we were against Mussolini. The enemies of our enemies need not be our friends.

I know that Metternich was a survivor of the delightful eighteenth century, the era of Gibbon and the Prince de Ligne. But the aristocrats of the eighteenth century were "enlightened," and the Metternich system was the defense of "obscurantism," dynastic divine right. I know that it was not Metternich who linked "order" with "legitimacy"; it was Talleyrand, who had no faith whatever in his own shibboleth. I know the Metternich era was one of comparative peace, because right up to 1848 the victors stood united against France, as they did not against Germany after 1919 and after 1945. But all that does not excuse the Metternich system: "Combat every change. Do not think. Obey the emperor and the church."

Now Viereck attempts to save Clemens Metternich by claiming that the "system" was not his own but was imposed by the Hapsburg rulers. Metternich, however, was the willing instrument of a dull repression which he condemned in his heart and which led to the upheaval of 1848. Let us admit that in the secret of his conscience, revealed in private letters, he was "enlightened." He was an optimist, or at least a meliorist, who could inspire Goethe with assurance in the coming victory of "reason, reconciliation, and human understanding." He was a progressive: he wanted to grant autonomy and constitutional government to all the nationalities of the empire. He hoped for a genuine Parliament for the Hapsburg dominions, and even for Europe as a whole. He desired to foster education and free thought. Granted; only he failed miserably, and the Hapsburgs had their thick-witted way. As early as 1820 Metternich confessed, "I have to give my life to prop up the moldering edifice." Viereck's book should be entitled "The Secret Tragedy of Clemens Metternich."

Why, then, did he remain in office? Simply because he liked the unreal show of power? Because he believed that if a stupid policy had to be carried out it had better be in charge of an intelligent man? Statesmen should have the courage, not to resign themselves, but to resign. Blum swore he would never be a Ramsay Macdonald, but when the test came he too capitulated, twice over.

But the real reason why Metternich, a true liberal, indorsed the heavy responsibility for the compressive Metternich regime was deeper than love of office. Its root was his insane hatred of the French Revolution. I repeat that, to my mind, revolutions are catastrophes—the price mankind has to pay for the blindness of the reactionaries. They destroy wastefully; but some of the things they do destroy deserved their doom. Bombs

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are the crudest method of slum clearance. But when the slums are rubble, let us not rebuild them in their ancient squalor. The true realists understand that revolutions accomplish, through iron and blood, what the conservatives should have achieved by more humane methods.

Burke and Metternich were blinded, and some of our most intelligent young conservatives are so blinded today. They hate and they curse "revolution"; they forget that in the Hungary of Horthy, in the Poland of Pilsudski and Beck, President Hoover and Senator Taft would have been firebrands. They, like Metternich, are "socialists"—the inevitable conjunction of the Industrial Revolution and the Christian spirit; they will not see that the reactionaries hate communism, not for its tyranny—which they easily condone in Chiang Kai-shek or Franco—but for its socialistic core. They profess to hate catastrophe and violence; yet they are frankly girding themselves for a third world war, coupled with an upheaval in Russia. They are apostles of light, and align themselves with the advocates of toughness. They have not yet taken to heart the wisdom of Goethe: "Reason, reconciliation, and human understanding will lead us out of present chaos." *Mehr Licht!* ALBERT GUERARD

The Golden Age

THE WIND OF TIME. By Rolfe Humphries. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

IT WAS certainly not mere literary influence that brought to mind while I read these poems the Latin poetry of the silver age, particularly of Ausonius. The sensibility which inflects Mr. Humphries's poems inevitably recalls poems deriving from a culture having spiritual needs and solutions similar to his own. Ausonius, not Lucretius or the satirists of the Augustan Age, with its life-and-death struggle between the new and the old and the failure of traditional beliefs to meet general incertitude concerning the place of man in the scheme of things. By the fourth century and Ausonius the gods had long since been dethroned, and the elemental void their absence left had been accepted and carefully surveyed. What remained was a poetry that made a kind of canicular music—poetry of the dog days: a compound of the senses refined and controlled to the last degree; of a spiritual need finding in external nature the permanence and consolation of ordered change—the seasons, roses, murmurs, bright fading light; and of a sensibility veering away from exhausted searches among personal complexities to find what tenuous assurance it can in the impersonal, and in elegiac evocations of the heroic past. The poet sings himself away, and the emptiness is full.

The parallel is pertinent to Mr. Humphries's best poems: Excellently Bright, The Late Summer, Bird Song, The Discovery, Willow Grove. The inhibiting effects of the poet's limitations appear not in them but in the more numerous and more ambitious poems which fail because they attempt to include details of contemporary life not sufficiently relevant to his poetic nature to escape becoming thin and constrained, if not forced and factitious. These shortcomings are most obvious in the longer poems (After the Ice-Storm and The Mantle), which show the influence of Frost. In them the didactic symbol is superimposed on the frame of the poem, the poem can't breathe, and the result is not simple wisdom but *simplesse.* The best poems are concerned only with the essentials they evoke. Their music moves freely, dissolving the temporal and the timely. It is then they say what they have to say about anything anytime. They sing of things about which the other poems merely make statements.

I like best the poem called Excellently Bright:

> *Quicker than hazel wand*
> *The moon discovers water*
> Lifts it from underground
> Running or still
> To stir in the light wind
> All quicksilver.
>
> All that brightness
> Loosed from the hold
> Of ground and of shadow
> Lovers and angels praise,
> Silver and running gold,
> *Holy, holy, holy.*

I find the same kind of pleasure in Mr. Humphries's poetry that I do in listening to a singer whose voice is not great but who uses it with a technique that makes the most of its limitations. Even in his unsuccessful work, and especially in the almost realized poems of which Willow Grove is the best example, there are passages controlled by a knowledge of his medium so deft and accurate that they sound almost better than they are. The melodic line is beautifully disciplined, the dangers of too facile music being guarded against by breaks and subtly modulated rhythms within the line which set off the continuous melodic undertone. The final stanza of The Late Summer, despite a sag in the last line, is a good example:

> Oh, Goddess, Goddess, need it be this way?
> Break, lift, the trance, the spell. Let the wind rise,
> Let branches, in the bright September, move,
> And garments flutter, as the singing girls
> Take home the harvest in the cool of love.

The last lines of Willow Grove are even better:

> The final drops of music fall
> With the first single notes of rain.

The paradox that Mr. Humphries's unsuccessful poems are those that endeavor to speak of contemporary matters, with which his best poems have little directly to do, defines, I think, his position as a modern poet. The fact is that his attitude toward the contemporary "self" is too negative to be a real concern of his poetry. He is too disgusted with it to make it into poetry. He can only, successfully, turn it into light ironic verse. Although he writes of those "Who fight disintegration till they die,/ And, without much composure, still compose," the fight seems only half-hearted and the composure not hardly enough earned. The paradox, of course, is only apparent. The best of these poems look back, evoking the golden age which, having never existed, is every poet's new-found land. Since what matters is the writing of good poetry, I don't see any reason why the golden age is not enough. The proof lies in the poetry. H. P. LAZARUS

Our Monetary System

MONETARY MANAGEMENT. By E. A. Goldenweiser. The McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.75.

THE former economist of the Federal Reserve Board has now, from his vantage point in the Institute of Advanced Study, written for the Committee for Economic Development a brief and lucid comment on the nature

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of our monetary system and the way it ought to be managed. The exposition will help anyone to understand the basis of post-war inflation.

The author is sharply critical of the Federal Reserve policy of supporting the government bond market in a period of rising prices, and he makes an excellent case. Even more interesting is his prescription for the financing of future deficits. Of course, if the aim is to combat depression, the deficit should be financed largely by ordinary bank-created credit, as far as possible through short-term issues. But if the deficit is made necessary by war, the aim should be (1) to keep it as small as possible by high taxation, (2) to sell as many non-marketable bonds to the public as possible, and (3) to raise the remainder by the sale of bonds at nominal rates of interest directly to the Federal Reserve Banks and curb the possible inflationary effects by high reserve requirements. This short-circuiting of the process heretofore used—which allows the commercial banks to buy or finance a large part of the debt expansion—would both cost the government less and keep potential inflation much more closely under control.

GEORGE SOULE

Church and State

SEPARATE CHURCH AND STATE NOW. By Joseph M. Dawson. Richard R. Smith. $2.50.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Alvin W. Johnson and Frank H. Yost. University of Minnesota. $4.50.

OUR revolutionary forbears thought that they had settled the issue of an established church in 1789 when they wrote the First Amendment into the Constitution, and our great-grandfathers thought that they had settled the auxiliary issue of government support for religious schools about one hundred years ago when most of the states were adopting the appropriate prohibitions. But our ancestors reckoned without the persistent drive of the Roman Catholic church for power. The present demand of the Catholic hierarchy for tax support for parochial schools has made the issue of church and state one of the most vital issues of our time, and it has produced a whole library of books pro and con, each attempting to show that government support for certain religious enterprises is or is not in accordance with the highest American tradition.

These two books, although they consider wider horizons, are chiefly useful as ammunition on the con side of the Catholic issue. Dr. Dawson has written a fighting tract for a militant Protestantism, an appeal to meet the Catholic challenge head on. His work has been sponsored by the new organization, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. The Johnson-Yost book, a revision of an earlier (1934) work by Dr. Johnson, is a carefully documented summary of the legal story of the American controversies on Bible reading, released time, religious garb in public schools, compulsory attendance at public schools, free textbooks and free transportation for private schools, the bearing of arms by religious persons, the saluting of the flag, and the enforcement of Sunday laws. Dr. Dawson's work is for the bookshelf of the militant Christian who believes that his church should wage an affirmative struggle for freedom everywhere; the Johnson-Yost book is a valuable sourcebook for students of the legal background of the church-state controversy.

Dr. Dawson's ammunition is impressive, and it serves to remind independent liberals how grateful they should be that most American Protestants have adopted the intelligent slogan, "If religion is to guide and control the state in any way, it must do so morally and spiritually rather than officially." He is right in contending that the authors of our Constitution wanted real, not partial, separation of church and state, and he presents ample reasons why we should favor separation of church and state even if our ancestors did not. Perhaps the most valuable part of his work is the list of official quotations from Catholic sources showing how definitely the Catholic hierarchy opposes the American concept of a free culture. If some readers doubt the value of his brief analysis of Soviet policy, no one will question the sincerity of his purpose.

Johnson and Yost find that "the trend of public thought on the part of the majority in the United States is toward a complete emancipation of civil and religious agencies from each other. . . . The Christian holds no civil right that the professors of another creed or of no creed do not also hold." Spanish, Argentine, Portuguese, Italian, and Vatican papers please copy!

PAUL BLANSHARD

Books in Brief

THE WATERS OF SILOE. By Thomas Merton. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. The author of "The Seven Storey Mountain" explains the meaning and purpose of life in a Trappist monastery—a life of silence and extreme asceticism intended to free the monk as far as possible from the demands of earthly life so that he may concentrate on the contemplation and love of God. The recent and remarkable growth in America of this most austere and other-worldly of all the Holy Orders is perhaps an indication of the increasing bewilderment of man lost in a world he never made and can seldom understand.

WEALTH AND WELFARE. By Norman Ware. William Sloane Associates. $2.50. Norman Ware, who has had long experience as an expert in labor disputes and teacher of economics, has written a vivid little book which makes good reading for anybody and for that reason is all the better as an introduction to a formal study of economic principles. He traces the history of economic practices from the Middle Ages, and shows how the various attempts to theorize about them arose from important social groups which, while seek-

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ing their own interests, strove in turn to impose their analyses on others. Meanwhile the economy itself was always changing and growing, bringing to the fore new groups and new theories.

The present economy in the United States is something unique, the outcome of our peculiar history and resources. It is not adequately described either by the advocates of laissez faire or by the Socialist opponents of capitalism. Mr. Ware believes that it necessitates its own variety of planning, supported by an uneasy and ragged but safe triple balance of power among labor, business, and farmers.

KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH. By Harry W. Schacter. Harper. $3. A simple, unpretentious, and quite inspiring account of the methods and remarkable achievements of the Committee for Kentucky which was formed to make democracy more effective and government more efficient in that state. A useful book that the public-spirited citizens of any community could read with profit.

THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE: 1758–1760. By Lawrence Henry Gipson. Knopf. $7.50. This seventh volume of Professor Gipson's "British Empire Before the American Revolution" opens with the coming to power of William Pitt and ends with the conquest of the French colonies in North America. The scope and infinite detail of this ambitious chronicle and a style that is lucid but never brilliant combine to make a book useful for reference or study but scarcely one that can be read for pleasure.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AGAINST the idea of Landowska as God's mouthpiece on the harpsichord I once more—reluctantly, since I have in the past heard performances by her that I thought wonderful—oppose the evidence of what I hear on the RCA Victor record of her playing of four Scarlatti sonatas: the gigantesque distention of the shape of the phrase and the rhythmically crude emphasis of metrical accents in the slow Sonatas in F minor (Longo 382) and B flat (Longo 497), the similar rhythmic crudity in the better performances of the brilliant toccata-like Sonata in D (Longo-Ricardi 461) and the lilting F major (Longo Supp. 20). The sound of the instrument is excellently reproduced on 78 (12-0964) and 45 (49-0476), but the 45 pressing I heard wavered in pitch.

Victor also has issued Respighi's "The Pines of Rome" played by Goossens and the Cincinnati Symphony. The piece is one that I enjoy in the way I enjoy some of the Sibelius champagne; and it calls for a more expansively sensuous performance of the second and third sections than Goossens achieves, while his crescendo in the fourth section is not the overwhelming one of Toscanini. It is, moreover, leveled off by the recording, which otherwise reproduces the performance well on 78 (DM-1309, 2 12″), but not on 45 (WDM-1309, 2 7″), the dubbed sound being defective on side 2.

From Columbia there is the Harty Suite from Handel's Royal Fireworks Music, performed by Sargent and the Liverpool Philharmonic. The music is very fine, the performance is effective, even with what seems a slow pace for an *Alla Siciliana*; and its recorded sound on 78 (MX-319, 2 12″) is sumptuous.

Then what is described as a Suite from Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande," comprising the Prelude and several interludes, performed by Leinsdorf and the Cleveland Orchestra. Exquisite and, in the case of the interlude leading to the scene of the final meeting of the lovers, powerful music, well-played, and well-reproduced on 78 (MM-845, 3 12″, but with side 2 of my copy wavering in pitch.

On a single 78 record (17562-D) Maryla Jonas plays Handel's Passacaglia in G minor with her usual assurance in her usual extremes of dynamics (a Rossi Andantino is on the reverse side). On another (72826-D) the introductory chorus and cavatina from Act I of Bellini's "Norma" are well sung by Pinza and the Metropolitan Opera chorus with the Metropolitan orchestra under Cleva. And on still another (72828-D) are *La donna è mobile* and *Questa o quella* from Verdi's "Rigoletto" and *M'appari* from Flotow's "Martha" sung by Tucker with an orchestra under Cooper. Tucker's voice is most free and richly resonant in the first aria, and exhibits most tightness and strain in the second, with the third somewhere in between.

Gyorgy Sandor's Chopin recital (MM-847, 3 12″) offers the Fantaisie, Barcarolle, and Fantaisie-Impromptu played much of the time with the customary exaggerated rubato that I dislike and that is made jerky by Sandor's tenseness. The performances are well reproduced; and the Barcarolle is also available on a single record (72832-D).

And I have no use at all for what the arrangements and performances in the Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra Bach Program (MM-846, 3 12″) make of the Passacaglia, the D-minor Toccata and Fugue, and the Chorale-Preludes "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring" and "Sleepers Awake." The sound of the orchestra is richly reproduced; and the Toccata and Fugue and Chorale-Preludes are available on single records (12997-D and 12998-D respectively).

I haven't heard any of these Columbia recordings on LP.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Subversives in Action

Dear Sirs: As one who has never believed in Communist theories or practices, I say that everyone—man, woman, or child—who threw a rock at people as they were leaving the Paul Robeson concert was at that instant overthrowing government by force.

GUSTAVUS SWIFT PAINE

Southbury, Ct., September 6

Anyway, a Blunder

Dear Sirs: Joseph Kraft, in his review [*Nation*, September 3] of D. B. Wyndham Lewis's latest book, remarks: "In the past Mr. Lewis, with cheerful approval for his subjects, has explained the historical function and logical necessity of Italian Fascism, Adolf Hitler, time, art, and Western man."

I am afraid that Mr. Kraft has committed an extraordinary blunder. He has confused D. B. Wyndham Lewis with a quite different Wyndham Lewis. D. B. Wyndham Lewis is the author of "At the Green Goose," "At the Sign of the Blue Moon," and similar works, and also of biographies of Villon and Ronsard. The other and better known Wyndham Lewis, with whom Mr. Kraft confuses D. B., is the satirist who has written among other things "Time and Western Man."

I happen to disagree with the position of both Lewises, but still I feel it is extremely unfair to both that they should be combined into a composite man and that each should be credited with the sins of the other as well as his own.

DAVID DAICHES

Ithaca, N. Y., September 4

Dear Sirs: Mr. Daiches is essentially correct. There are two Wyndham Lewises: just plain and D. B. Ignorant of that fact I mixed them up. My confusion, however, was quite literally nominal, and accordingly the required emendation is simple: all sins deplored in my review of "America and Cosmic Man" are the sole property of Wyndham Lewis.

Finally, though I am grateful to Mr. Daiches for his information, I must say that my own blunder seems to me singularly ordinary. One Wyndham Lewis is par for the literary world.

JOSEPH KRAFT

New York, September 7

An Anniversary Appeal to the American People

Dear Sirs: France relinquished its colonial rights in French Indo-China in 1941. The people of Viet Nam, after fighting side by side with the Americans during World War II, reconquered their independence from Japan and established their own democratic republic in 1945, with a President and National Assembly duly elected according to democratic procedures set forth by its constitution.

Since the first independence day—September 2, 1945—the Viet Nam government, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, has made tremendous democratic achievements which meet the aspirations of the people and enjoy their wholehearted support and cooperation. Furthermore, the republic has demonstrated the determination and capacity of the Viet Namese to live their own life and shape their own future.

Imperialist France, unable to find fault in the Viet Nam Republic, turned against one individual, Ho Chi Minh. He has been accused as a Communist, a stooge of the Kremlin, and so forth. To these unfounded accusations Ho has answered, "I am nothing but a member of the Viet Nam family"; or "Was it by orders from the Kremlin and the Cominform that General Washington fought for independence against the King?" When recently asked by an American correspondent [see Asia's Tito? by Andrew Roth, last week in *The Nation*] whether Viet Nam would ever side with the Soviet Union to carry on the cold war, Ho said, "No." The Viet Nam foreign policy adhered to by Ho since 1945 has been clear and unshaken: Viet Nam, a republic, for the Viet Namese.

By vilifying Ho the French have vainly tried to justify or to conceal their two evil actions: a war of aggression which is in flagrant contradiction with United Nations principles and the French constitution, and the waste of a vast sum of money from the Marshall Plan that should be used to rebuild the French economy.

We, Viet Namese in the United States, wishing for a just peace in Indo-China, and firm believers in democracy, of which the United States has been the torch-bearer, appeal now to the American people and government. We ask you to reduce Marshall Plan allotments to France and suspend funds of any kind for the "reconstruction" of Indo-China until France stops its unjust war of aggression, and we urge you to use American good offices and influences to initiate and encourage negotiations between France and the democratic republic of Viet Nam.

ANTHONY DO VANGLY, for the Committee for the Celebration of Viet Nam Independence

New York, September 2

Further Clarification

Dear Sirs: Mrs. Roosevelt doubtless accepted Cardinal Spellman's statement as "clarifying" and "fair" in order to avoid further controversy. Unfortunately, it did not really settle anything.

If non-religious books used in parochial schools are to be paid for with public funds, I don't see how we can resist application of the same principle to the salaries of non-religious teachers, or to the repair of a non-religious roof on a parochial-school building. There is nothing to prevent the Cardinal or his successor from issuing a further clarifying statement some day in which it will be explained that "salaries of teachers" —payment of which from public funds was disclaimed—meant only salaries of religious teachers or teachers of religious subjects, not teachers of mathematics or English or history. Besides, the earmarking of funds is illusory. What difference is there between paying teachers' salaries and paying for non-religious books which releases that much money to pay for teachers' salaries.

Complete separation of church and state in the field of education requires that *no* financial support whatever be given to parochial schools, not even for the seemingly innocent "auxiliary services." This is just a euphemism for "a little support" of sectarian schools from public funds.

Eventually we must come to grips with the question of whether we should or should not support parochial schools with tax money. It would be unfortunate if open and public debate on the question were stifled by political peace maneuvers and if Congressional action on federal aid to education were arrested by the supposed indelicacy of the subject of parochial schools.

I would like to see it firmly estab-

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lished that one may disagree with church policy in so far as it impinges on secular life without danger of being called irreligious, anti-Catholic, or un-American.

JULES SCHWERIN AND FRIENDS

New York, August 29

[*Readers are invited to comment on this letter.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Greatest Good?

Dear Sirs: You have been very kind in giving space to my inquiry ["Doctor's Rights," August 13], and the answers [August 27, September 3] have been most instructive and illuminating. Some of them raised numerous secondary points, which I will try to discuss in individual replies. But I would appreciate an opportunity to answer in your pages two points in detail:

One correspondent infers that I consider laymen inferior. I don't, at least, not any more than I consider myself inferior to ship captains, physicists, or architects in those fields in which they are competent and I am not.

Secondly, several correspondents confuse legal restrictions on liberty with economic pressures. This, oddly enough, is comparable to the argument Southern slaveholders raised against Abolitionists, calling attention to the wage slavery in the North. It should be clearly understood that there is a difference between various pressures exerted on each of us in society and certain impediments put upon us by law. It is immaterial whether these are on physicians, coal miners, or farmers. Even the role of the physician in society is irrelevant when the question asked reads: How much liberty and what liberties can we take away from *any* individual for the common good and still exist as a free society?

FREDERICK P. BORNSTEIN, M. D.

Herrin, Ill., September 3

[*This correspondence is now terminated.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Matters of Fact

Dear Sirs: Harold J. Laski in Part I of his series, Liberty on the American Campus (*Nation*, August 13), says, "At the University of Oregon a young biologist was driven from his post because he announced his belief in the theories of Lysenko." The man in question, however, taught at Oregon State College, not the University of Oregon; his department was chemistry, not biology; he was not "driven out," although his two-year contract was not renewed; he knew little about the theories of Lysenko.

IRENE GRAHAM

Albany, Ore., August 23

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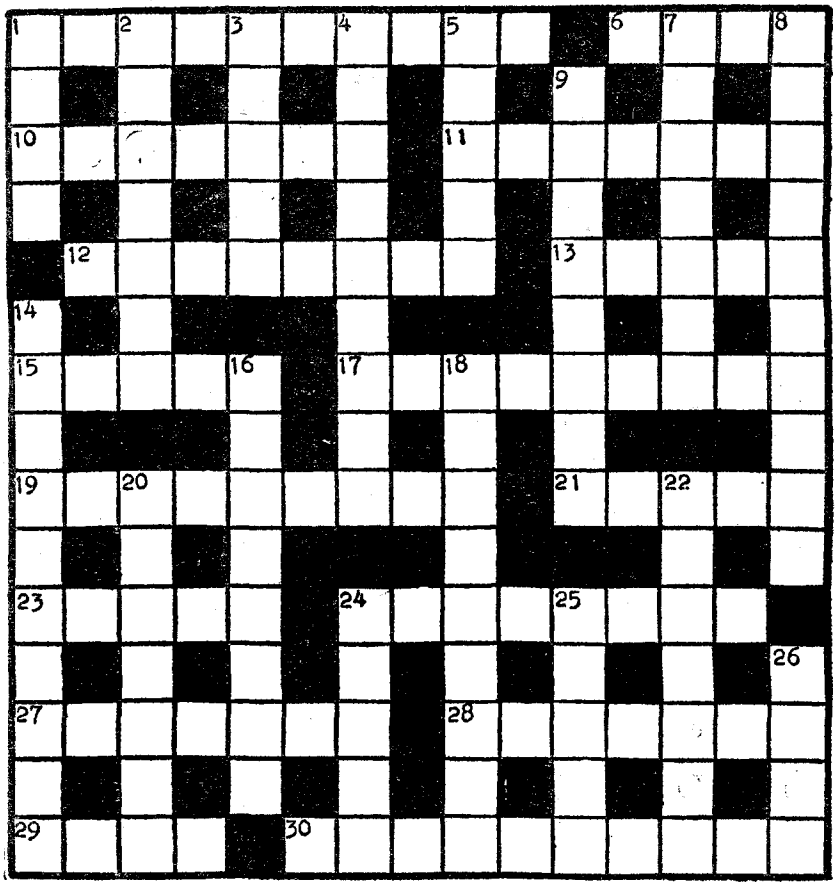

ACROSS

1 How a rustler sizes things up? (5, 5)
6 The minor one is Anatolia. (4)
10 Cordial Dutch colony. (7)
11 He might see eye to eye with you. (7)
12 These are usually far from tender. (8)
13 And here, as Caesar might say, it's moral. (5)
15 Their wars were not uncivil. (5)
17 Fame is the undying brother of such honor, according to Schopenhauer. (9)
19 Spades, for example, wouldn't be carried by a captain. (5, 4)
21 Assail—if your hands aren't strong, you're likely to. (5)
23 You can never make them with straight fingers. (5)
24 See 3. (8)
27 Fancy this! You'll find him in a strange race. (7)
28 Certainly not a drier mountain. (7)
29 See 5.
30 A goal I don't exchange for a toothache (10)

DOWN

1 To change course has its point. (4)
2 Chosen people? (7)
3 Were he and 24 railroad victims? (5)
4 Out, as sure as out-fit. (9)
5 and 29 Such people (unlike 11) might *not* see eye to eye with you! (5-4)
7 The slip of her list. (7)
8 Not speechless, it's clear! (10)
9 In shape no bigger than an agate-stone, according to Mercutio. (5, 3)
14 A campfire I make before investigation. (5, 5)
16 *Ma had lit*, perhaps, in verse about the lamb. (8)
18 Play for the careless driver. (3-3-3)
20 Berg, in simplest terms? (7)
22 Brooding, perhaps for the artist's benefit. (7)
24 A dish for six and that's all. (5)
25 *In oleo*, she might 5 the end of 20. (5)
26 The Song of Maid Marian. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 326

ACROSS:—1 PENICILLIN; 6 TALC; 10 ICTERUS; 11 APOSTLE; 12 TOBY; 13 PATHOLOGIC; 16 SCALARE; 17 UNLACES; 20 PEDICEL; 22 SCALLOPING; 23 RUFF; 25 INDIANA; 26 ANIMISM; 27 NORM; 28 CONDOLENCE.

DOWN—1 POINT IN QUESTION; 2 NOTABLE; 3 CURE; 4 LASCARS; 5 INACHUS; 7 ANTIGUA; 8 CHERCHEZ LA FEMME; 9 FOOLHARDY; 14 BLACK LEAD; 18 LEANDER; 19 SOPRANO; 20 and 15 PINS AND NEEDLES; 21 CAUTION; 24 WILL.

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